

Archæological Survey of India.



REPORT
OF
A TOUR IN THE CENTRAL PROVINCES
IN
1873-74 AND 1874-75.

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VOLUME IX

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What is aimed at is an accurate description illustrated by plans measurements, drawings, or photographs and by copies of inscriptions of such remains as most deserve notice with the history of them so far as it may be traceable and a record of the traditions that are preserved regarding them — LORD CANNING

What the learned world demand of us in India is to be quite certain of our data to place the monumental record before them exactly as it now exists and to interpret it faithfully and literally. — JAMES PRINSEP

Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal 1838, p. 227

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PREFACE

THE tour described in the present volume extended from Bhañhut, half-way between Allahabad and Jabalpur, to Asu and Burhânpur on the west, and to Chânda and Mâikanda on the south, thus covering nearly the whole of the western half of the Central Provinces. In the middle ages the greater part of this country belonged to the Kulachuri Rajas of *Chedi* or *Dâhal*. At a still earlier date the northern tract, about Uchahara and Mahiyar, was subject to two petty chiefs, or simple Maharajas, who were tributary to the powerful Gupta Kings, in whose era they date all their inscriptions.

Notices of all these records are given in the following pages, with facsimiles of the dates in the accompanying Plates.

The occurrence of these dates has given me an opportunity of discussing the probable starting point of the Gupta era, which I have fixed approximately to the year 194 A.D. Four of these inscriptions contain a second date in the twelve-year cycle of Jupiter, which, I think it probable, will ultimately lead to the discovery of the true initial point of the Gupta era. I am not at present in possession of all the information necessary for the full discussion of this question, but I may note here that the years of this cycle of Jupiter have the same names as the twelve months of the year, with the addition of the word *Mahâ*, or great, prefixed to each. Thus the year 156 of the Gupta era is also called

he year. *Mahā Vaisākha*, while the year 209 is named *Mahā Aswayuja*. Now the difference between these two dates is 53 years, or 5 years over 4 cycles of 12 years, and as Aswayuja is the fifth name in order after Vaisākha, we thus learn that between the years 156 and 209 of the Gupta era there was no name omitted in the regular succession of the twelve years. But according to the old Astronomer Garga, the names of Aswayuja and Chaitra were omitted after the lapse of average periods of 85 years, so as to make the name of the year agree with that of the Nakshatra group, in which Jupiter actually rose heliacally. I have not yet been able to ascertain to my satisfaction what arrangement was actually followed in making these omissions, and I will not hazard any speculations as to the name of the year, which probably corresponds with A D 350, which, according to my proposed chronology of the Guptas, was the year Mahā Vaisākha. I hope, however, to obtain hereafter some positive information regarding the exact recurrence of these omitted names, which may then be brought to bear upon the initial point of the Gupta era. In the meantime, I wish to draw attention to the data furnished by the inscriptions of Budha Gupta and Dhruvabhata, from which I have deduced the probable commencement of the Gupta era in 194 A D.

I have also given a short account of the silver coins of the Guptas and their successors, amongst which will be found the coins of two new kings—named Bhima Sena¹ and Sânti Varma. Since the plate was prepared, I have received the coin of a later Gupta King, with face to the right, as on all the Gupta coins. The coin is of rude and coarse execution, and must therefore be considerably later than the coins of Skanda and Budha Gupta. The name consists of four syllables, which I read, with some hesitation as to the first, as Dâmodara Gu(pta). The coin was obtained

¹ The name on this coin is read as Ioramâni by Babu Rajendra Lal Mitra, but with this reading I cannot agree.

at Ajudhya, and bears on the reverse the usual Gupta peacock with expanded tail. The whole legend seems to read as follows —

Devajaya vy[ava] niravanī pati Dāmōdara Gu(p)ta

The name of Dāmōdara Gupta is found in the Aphsai inscription of the later Guptas. He was the son and successor of Kumāra Gupta II, who was the opponent of Sānti Varma. Dāmōdara must therefore have reigned, according to my calculation of the Gupta chronology, from about 460 to 480 A D, a date which agrees with the statement of the inscription that he had successfully encountered “at the battle of Maushari the fierce army of the Western Hunas”

I have also given a pretty long account of the Kulachuri dynasty of Chedi, illustrated by numerous inscriptions. All of these are dated in an era of their own, which is called both Chedi Samvat and Kulachuri Samvat. The starting point of this era I have fixed with some certainty in the year 249 A D. My account of the era is founded partly on the mention of the Kulachuri Kings in the dated inscriptions of other dynasties, and partly on the mention of several week days in some of their own inscriptions. Afterwards I was lucky enough to find two separate notices of the Chedi Kings by independent authors, which serve to establish the correctness of the date that I have assigned to the beginning of the era.

The first of these notices is a very short paragraph of Abu Rihān, the contemporary of Mahmud of Ghazni, which has escaped the notice of all previous enquirers. After mentioning Kālānjar he says, “thence to Dahāl, of which the capital is Bitūn, the kingdom¹ of Kankgu.” Now these names are only a slight disguise in Persian characters for *Dāhal*, which was another appellation of the country of

¹ See Renaud, *Fragments Arabes et Persans* p 106 and Elliot's *Muhammadan History* by Dowson, 1, 58. See also p 106 of this volume.

Chedi, of which the capital was Tripuri, or Tīpura, and the Raja was Gāngeo, or Gāngeya Deva. Abu Rihān's account refers to the year 1030-31 A D, while the reign of Gāngeya is fixed by the genealogical reckoning of my chronology to the period between A D 1025 and 1050.

The second notice is in Dr Buhler's account of Bilhana, the author of the *Vikramāṅkadeva Charita*.¹ Bilhana was born at Khonamukha, in Kashmir, and left his native country between 1062 and 1065 A D. He visited Mathura, Kanauj, Prayāg, and Benares, and afterwards "resided for some time at the court of the *Chandela* Chief Karna in *Dāhala*, or Bundelkhand, and it was here, he tells us, that he gained his victory over the poet Gangādhara." Eventually he became the court poet of the *Chālukya* King Vikramāditya Tribhuvana Malla of Kalyāṇa. As his life of this king was written about A D 1085, - the date of his residence at the court of Raja Karna of Dāhala may be placed about A D 1070 to 1075, a period which agrees exactly with the approximate date of A D 1050 to 1075, which I had already assigned to him by the genealogical reckoning.

In this notice I have retained the statement that Karna was the *Chandela* Chief of Dāhala, or *Bundelkhand*, for the purpose of correcting the widely-spread mistake that *Chedi* was identical with *Chandel*. This error, I believe, originated with Lieutenant Price, the translator of the Mau inscription of the Chandel Rajas. After describing how Madana Varma *Chandela* had vanquished the King of *Chedi* "in the fierce fight," he adds as a note, "the same, I believe, with *Chandari*," so that Madana Varma must have conquered himself.² Now *Chandela* is the tribal name of the Rajas who ruled over the country of Mahoba, Khajuraho, and Kālanjar, which is called *Jajjāhuti* by Abu Rihān, and *Jejā-*

¹ See the *Vikramāṅkadeva Charita*, edited by Dr Buhler, Bombay. See also Ind. Antiquary, V 317-324.

Researches of Asiatic Society of Bengal vol. xii, para 15, of his translation.

kasukti in one of the Prithi Rāj's inscriptions. There is besides no Karna in the Chandela lists of kings. But Karna of *Dāhala* is the well-known Raja Karna of Chedi, which country, according to Hema Chandra, was also called *Dāhala*. I may add that Karna himself and all his descendants bear the titles of Chedindra and Chedinarendra, or "Lord of Chedi," in all their inscriptions.

I have also given a full account of the curious Buddhist caves at Bhāndak, near the Wardā River, and of the fine group of temples at Mārkaṇḍa on the Venya Gangā River. As both of these places are in the ancient district of *Vākātaka*, I have suggested that *Bhāndak* is only the modern abbreviated form of the old name.

A CUNNINGHAM

ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA

REPORT OF A TOUR IN THE CENTRAL PROVINCES, 1873-74 & 1874-75

1 —LÂL-PAHÂR

MY tour in 1873-74 began with the discovery of the magnificent Stûpa of Bharhut, half-way between Allahabad and Jabalpur. As the description of this old Buddhist monument forms the subject of a separate volume, I only allude to it now for the purpose of indicating the site of the lofty crest of *Lâl Pahâr*, or the "Red Hill," at the south-east foot of which the stûpa is situated. The hill is also known as *Chhatra Pahâr*, that is, the "Umbrella or Canopy Hill," a name which is said to have been derived from a large round stone, with a hole in the middle, which is now lying on the top, and which is supposed to be like an umbrella. The height of the hill is 1,869 feet above the sea, and 500 feet above the plain of Bharhut.

Near the top of the hill there is a fine natural cave, large enough to hold as many as 100 people. Outside there is an inscription, painted in large white letters, which are now illegible.

Near the Chhatra stone there is a separate piece of rock, with an inscription on the top in large letters, which shows that the rule of the Kulachuri dynasty of Chedi had once extended to Bharhut. The inscription will be examined hereafter, along with other records of the Kulachuri kings of Chedi.

A separate short line repeats the name of the inscriber, as "*Râut Sri Ballâla Deva*."

This brief record is important in giving the week-day, which will help us in ascertaining the initial point of the Chedi or Kulachuri era, which is clearly the Samvat here used. The inscription was recorded by Prince Ballâla Deva, the son of Kesavaditya, and grandson of Nara Sinha Deva.

the Kulachuri Rāja of Chedi. This king is mentioned in other inscriptions, and more particularly in a record of his own reign, which is dated in Samvat 907, Mārga sudi 11, Sunday. An inscription of Jaya Sinha Deva, his younger brother, is dated in Samvat 928, Srāvana sudi 6, Sunday, and an earlier one without the week-day in Samvat 926. The earliest record of this family that I have seen is the copperplate [mentioned by Wilford] which bears the date of Samvat 793, Phālgun-badi 9, Monday. From all these week-days we may now confidently expect to ascertain the initial point of the Chedi or Kulachuri era with absolute certainty. My assistant, Mr Beglar, has since found several inscriptions of the Kulachuri Rājās of Mahā-Kosala, in which the era used is called both Chedi Samvat and Kulachuri Samvat. I have now got eight dates which give the week-day, four of which agree in placing the first year of the Kulachuri Samvat in A. D. 249.

Another point of some interest in this short record on the hill of Lāl Pahār is the mention of the village of *Vādyavagrāma*, or *Bājagaon*, which may have been the original name of Bharhut itself. It was certainly the name of Prince Ballāla Deva's estate, and if it was not Bharhut itself, it could not have been far off, as his father's principality must have been a small one, most probably only the present chiefship of Uchahara.

2 —BHARHUT

THE great Buddhist Stūpa of Bharhut is situated nearly half-way between Allahabad and Jabalpur, and about 2 miles to the east of the railway, between the stations of Satna and Uchahara. The exact distances are 120 miles from Allahabad and 111 miles from Jabalpur.

The remains of the ancient stūpa have been described in a separate volume, but there is also a ruined temple of mediæval date which deserves to be noticed, as it proves that the open profession of the Buddhist religion must have continued down to a very late period. The original old temple was of small size, but it would appear to have been enlarged at a later period, and it is difficult to say whether the fragments found in the excavations belonged to the old work or to the later additions. The back wall of the old temple is still standing, and this was retained intact when the additions were made. Its platform was disclosed by the excavations as a simple rectangle, 25 feet long by 20½ feet broad, the

temple itself being only $21\frac{1}{2}$ feet long by 15 feet broad. At some subsequent period the platform was considerably enlarged, and two side-rooms were added to the temple. A portion of one of the pillars was found, as well as several pieces of the cusped arch of the entrance and a single piece of the canopy of the enshrined statue. The last bears a portion of a Buddhist dedicatory inscription. The original pedestal occupied the whole breadth of the temple, but afterwards a second smaller pedestal was placed on the top of the larger one, on which is seated a colossal figure of Buddha, with his right shoulder bare, his right hand resting on his knee and his left hand on his lap. On the upper pedestal to the right are some Brahmanical figures in subordinate positions — Kālī, the skeleton goddess, Śiva, with his noose and thunderbolt, Brahmā, with his beard and three heads, and Indra, on his elephant. The other side of the pedestal is broken. On the lower pedestal there are two lions. Amongst the broken sculptures are no less than four bearing on their pedestals portions of the Buddhist creed of *Ye-dhamma hetu pabhava*, &c. It is certain, therefore, that this was a Buddhist temple down to the very last. After seeing many other small temples in different places, I am of opinion that the original temple was a square of 15 feet, with a portico in front, supported on four pillars. Judging from other examples, the portico would have been about one-half the width of the temple, which would make the total length 22 feet 6 inches, the actual length of the old temple being only one foot less. The plan of the old temple, thus described, may be conveniently compared with the plan of the Tigowa temple in the present volume. This proportion accords with the plans of most of the temples of the Gupta period, to which time I believe that this Bharhut temple belongs. At some later period, say about 1100 A. D., the temple was enlarged, and a second pedestal placed on the top of the old one, to give due elevation to the new statue, which then took the place of the ancient colossus.

Several moulded and curved bricks were also found, which, as they form portions of a circle not less than 20 feet in diameter, must have belonged to a small stûpa. Numerous pieces of iron were also discovered, which are not worth sketching. The uses of most of them are obvious, such as the razor and nail-cutter, which are easily recognized. Only one razor was found, although every monk was bound to possess one for his own tonsure.

A single bronze figure was also found in the excavations. It seems to be that of an attendant, and I am unable to say whether it is Buddhist or Brahmanical. I was disappointed in not finding any seals, either of burnt-clay or of lac, which have been found in such numbers at other places, as at Srāvastī, Sankīsa-Bihār, Sārnāth, Bodh-Gaya, Bakror, Giryek, and Birdrāban near Lakhi-Sarai. But Bharhut is not singular in this respect, as I have not obtained even a single seal at the eminently Buddhist site of Kosam.

3 — SANKARGARH

Sankargarh is a small hill fort of no importance, 5 miles to the west of Bharhut and 4 miles to the north of Uchāṭkara. I visited the place to inspect a square stone pillar, which was said to have carvings like those of the Buddhist railing of the Bharhut Stūpa. The pillar stands in front of a Baon well, and is believed to have been set up by a Brahman, five or six generations ago. But the carving is much too good for such a late period, and as the figures are Brahmanical, the pillar cannot have been brought from Bharhut, although the representations of the mango fruit are in the Bharhut style, and are probably copies.

To the north of the village there is a fine tank and a Baon called the Bakoli Bui, with a broken inscribed slab lying on its bank. The slab is said to be the monument of a Satī, and a curious story is told as to the cause of her death. There are many slightly differing versions of the story, but they all agree in the main points.

A Brahman girl, some say the wife of a Brahman, of the village Dāne, near Sankargarh, used daily to fill her water-vessel from the Toṅs river, near the village of Bakoli. Here she frequently met a shepherd of Bharhut, who tended his flock on the banks of the river. They fell in love with each other, but their intercourse remained unknown, until the sudden death of the shepherd. The girl had filled her water-vessel as usual, and the shepherd was assisting her in lifting it on to her head, when he was bitten by a snake, which had got into the water-pot unseen. After his death the girl declared her love, and became a Satī. Or, in the version which makes her a Brahman's wife, she affirmed that she had been the wife of the shepherd in a former birth.

The story is widely known, and forms the subject of many doggerel verses, which are more popular than decent. The following verse gives the chief points of the story —

Pâni bharon Bakoli,
Bason Dâne-1e gaon,
Bharhut Kêâr Gâdriya,
Tehu se judo saneo

“To fetch water from Bakoli, a maiden of Dâne went, there met a shepherd of Bharhut, and fell in love with him”

4.—UCHAHARA, OR UCHAHADA

Uchahara is a small town and railway station on the high road between Allahabad and Jabalpur, and six miles to the south-west of Bharhut. The town gives its name to the chiefship of a Parihâr Râjâ, who is, however, better known now as the Râjâ of Nâgod, since the Râjâ preferred to live there after the place was made a military cantonment. The situation of Uchahara at the junction of the two great lines of road from Allahabad and Benares towards the south and near the head of the long obligatory pass of the Tons valley between Mahiyar and Jokhai is a very favourable one. The original name of the district is said to have been *Barmê*, and the Barmê Nadî is noted as being the present boundary between the Mahiyar and Uchahara chiefships. But this stream was at first only the boundary line which divided the two districts of north and south Barmê. At Kâin Tâlai, which once formed part of Mahiyar, I found an inscription with the name of Uchahada. The old name of Barmê is widely known, but few people seemed to know anything about the extent of the country. From the late Minister of the Uchahara State, I learned that the *Parihâr* chiefship was older than that of the *Chandels* of Mahoba, as well as that of the *Bâghels* of Rewa. According to his belief, it formerly included Mahoba, and all the country to the north as far as the Ghâts and Bilhari on the south, and extended to Mau-Mahewa on the west, and on the east comprised most of the country now held by the Baghels. I do not suppose that the Bâghels would admit this eastern extension, but it seems to receive some support from the position assigned by Ptolemy to the *Poruâri*, who are very probably the same people as the Parihârs. The great lake at Bilhari, called Lakshman Sâgar, is said to have been made by Lakshman Sen Parihâr, and the great fort of Singorgarh,

still farther to the south, contains a pillar bearing the name of a Parihâr Rajâ. The family has no ancient records, and vaguely claims to have come from Abu-Sikhar in the west (Mount Abu), more than thirty generations ago.

In Uchahara itself there is no ancient building now standing, but there are numerous fragments of architecture and sculpture which probably date as high as 700 or 800 A. D. This is perhaps the earliest date that can be assigned to the Parihârs in Uchahara, as everybody affirms that they were preceded by a Teliya Raj, or dynasty of Telis, who resided at *Kho*, over the whole of the country called Baimc.

5 — KHO

I paid a visit to *Kho*, to examine the great mound, and to make enquiries regarding the exact find-spots of several copperplate inscriptions which are now in the possession of the Rajâ of Uchahara. The old town of *Kho* has nearly disappeared, and is now represented by a small village. The great mound stands on the south bank of the Barûa Nalâ, just three miles to the west of Uchahara. It is still upwards of 29 feet in height, and forms a conspicuous mark in the very middle of the valley. On excavation, I found the ruins of a large red brick temple, which had apparently been destroyed by fire, as the whole of the stone statues were split into small fragments, such as could not readily have been done with a hammer. There were also numerous friable flakes of stone, and on the north side there was a large quantity of concrete of brick-and-lime of which many of the brick fragments had fused into slag.

The temple faced to the east, and was dedicated to Vishnu, as I found a part of a colossal statue of the Nara-Sinhatâvâtâr, as well as a large statue of the Varâha, $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet in length and 3 feet 9 inches high. Pione between the boar's legs there is a Nâga, with human head and body and serpent's tail. He is canopied by five snakes' hoods, and holds out two vessels in his hands below the boar's snout¹. There are also many fragments of the well-known symbols of Vishnu, the discus, the shell, the club, and the winged figure of Garuda. The large dimensions of some of these symbols show that there must have been other figures of Vishnu of rather more than life-size, whilst a single thumb, $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches in breadth, proves that there was at least one colossus of at least twice

¹ See Plate III

the natural height. All the human faces are remarkable for the large size of the lower lip. In the accompanying plate I have given a sketch of a fragment of a colossal head, which is 8 inches broad. From the root of the nose to the parting of the lips is only one inch, while the lower lip is one inch and an eighth. In a second smaller example the dimensions were respectively $\frac{5}{8}$ and $5\frac{1}{2}$ -eighths of an inch. This peculiarity was, therefore, intentional.¹ Apparently, also, it was the fashion of a particular period, as I have found terracotta heads in other places with the same large under lip.

The mound itself is called *Ataritekra*, or simply *Atariya*, or the high mound, a name which it justly bears, as I found that the floor of the temple was raised 22 feet above the ground. The pedestals of the statues were still *in situ*, but there was nothing, not even a single letter, to give any clue to the date of the temple. The bricks were large, $14 \times 8\frac{1}{2} \times 2\frac{1}{2}$, and probably belong to the time of the Teliya Rāj. As Kho is said to have been the capital of the Teliya Rājās, this date is not improbable.

Regarding the inscribed copperplates which were found in the Kho valley, I learned that one pan was discovered in 1870, in ploughing a field belonging to the neighbouring village of Majgowa. As this pan had a ring and seal attached, I am able to identify the inscription as an edict of Mahārāja Hastin, which is dated in Samvat 191 of the Gupta era. Four other plates, which were found in the same place some twenty years earlier, or about 1852 A. D., are said to have been sent to Benares. I conclude, therefore, that these were the four plates obtained by Colonel Ellis while Political Agent at Nâgod, as they were certainly sent to Benares, where they were translated by Professor Hall. They also are dated in the Gupta era. They will be described shortly when I come to speak of the Bhuhara Pillar.

6.—KÂRI-TÂLAI, OR, KARNAPURĀ

The village of Kâri-Tâlai stands on the east side of the Kaimur range of hills, 22 miles to the south-east of Mahiyar and 31 miles to the south of Uchahara. The old name of the place was Karnpur or Karnapura, which is now restricted to a small village, with a number of ruined temples lying along the ridge, to the north of the modern town. There is

¹ See Plate III

also a large tank called Sâgar, half a mile in length, to the east of the ruins, but it is now nearly dry. The principal figure is the boar of Vishnu in red sandstone, which is 8 feet long, 7 feet high, and 2 feet 9 inches broad. There is also a colossal Narasinha in white stone, and one naked Jain figure. All the temples are mere heaps of ruins, from which the smaller figures have been removed, some to Kâri-Tâlai, some to Jabalpur. In Kâri-Tâlai I saw the Fish and Tortoise avatârs, each $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet long and 3 feet broad. In the Jabalpur Museum there is a long inscription from Kâri-Tâlai with the names of *Yuva Râjâ Deva* and *Lakshmana Râjâ*. The latter is called both *Chedindra* and *Chedimarendra*, or the "Lord of Chedi." This inscription, therefore, proves that Kâri-Tâlai was in early possession of the Kulachuris of Chedi.

But a still more important inscription was discovered, somewhere about 1850, in a small receptacle inside the ruined temple of the Varâha, or boar incarnation of Vishnu. This inscription is engraved on a plate of copper and records the grant of land by Maharajâ Jayanâth in the Samvat year 174, which is noted both in words and in figures. The name of the Samvat is not mentioned, but, as I will show hereafter, there is no doubt that the era is that of the Guptas.

7—BHUBHARA

In the small village of *Bhubhara*, on the top of the tableland 12 miles to the west of Uchahara, there is a well-known pillar of dark-red sandstone called *Thâri-pathar*, or "the standing stone." The pillar is $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches broad and 7 inches thick, with the lower part rectangular and the upper part octagonal. On the lower part there is an inscription of nine short lines in Gupta characters, which gives the names of two Râjâs of different families, one of whom is the now well-known Râjâ Hastin of the Uchakara copperplates, who has already been mentioned, and the other is Sarvvanâtha, the son of Râjâ Jayanâth, of the Kâri-Tâlai copperplate. From this joint mention of their names, we find that Sarvvanâth and Hastin were contemporaries, and further, as the recorded dates of their separate inscriptions correspond, we learn that the era employed by Sarvvanâth and his father Jayanâth must have been that of the Guptas, which is used by Râjâ Hastin. In this record the date is not given in numbers, but is simply named the *Mahâ-Mâgha*

Samvatsara, that is, the year of the twelve-year cycle of Jupiter, which was so called As Sarvvanâth's father, Jayanâth, was still alive in 177, and as Hastin's son, Sankshobha, had succeeded him before 209, the only possible dates of this Bhubhara pillar are the Mahâ-Mâgh years of 188 and 200 of the Gupta era But as we have another inscription of Hastin, dated in Samvat 156, the earlier date of Samvat 188 is the more probable one There are several other inscriptions of these two families, which I will now notice in some detail, as they promise to give us most material assistance in finding the initial-point of the Gupta era

INSCRIPTIONS

DATED IN THE GUPTA ERA

I HAVE now collected no less than nine inscriptions which are dated in the era of the Guptas Two of these of Râjâ Hastin have already been made known by Professor Hall's translations¹ The following list gives the Râjâs names and the dates of these important records, with the place of their deposit Extracts from all these inscriptions are given in the accompanying Plate, showing the dates at full length

o	Names	Gupta era	Year of Jupiter cycle	Place of deposit
1	Râjâ Hastin	156	Mahâ Vaisâkha	Benares College
2	Ditto	173	Mahâ Aswayuja	Allahabad Museum
3	Râjâ Javanâtha	174		In author's possession
4	Ditto	177		Râjâ of Uchahala
5	Râjâ Hastin	191	Mahâ Chaitra	Ditto
6	Râjâ Sarvvanâtha	197		Ditto
7	Râjâ Sankshobha	209	Mahâ Aswayuja	Ditto
8	Râjâ Sarvvanâtha	214		In author's possession
9	Râjâs Hastin & Sarvvanâtha		Mahâ Mâgha	Stone pillar at Bhubhara

The first point to be noticed in this list is, that the date of No 2, the reading of which on the plate as 163 is quite clear, is *certainly* a mistake for 173 All the other dates fit into their proper places in the twelve-year cycle Thus Aswayuja being the sixth name after Chaitra, the date of 209 falls exactly 18 years after 191, and another Aswayuja must have fallen 18 years before 191, or in 173, and not in 163, as actually written in the inscription Similarly, Aswayuja being the fifth name after Vaisâkh, the two years named Mahâ

¹ See Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal XXX, p 1

Aswayūja must have fallen in 161 and 173¹ When I first saw these inscriptions, I felt grave doubts as to the correctness of the generally accepted rendering of the words *Gupta-nripa rājya bhuktan* as the "close or cessation of the Gupta rule" I referred the point to some learned Brahmans, by whom I was assured that the true meaning of the expression was, "during the peaceful sway of the Guptas" This rendering has since been confirmed by the learned Rajendra Lal Mitra

In one of these inscriptions, No 7 of Rājā Sarvvanātha, dated in Samvat 197, I find mention of the goddess *Prishtapuri Devi* Now this same name of Prishtapuri, according to my reading, occurs in the Allahabad Pillar inscription of Samudra Gupta, which Prinsep has rendered *Arghashtapura*² If I am right in this reading, then *Prishtapuri* must have been the name of some small principality that was tributary to Samudra Gupta This name I would identify with *Pithaora*, one of the chief towns in the Uchahara district, and a place of considerable antiquity In No 8 inscription of Rājā Sankshobha, dated in Samvat 209, the name is written *Prishtapuri* The great goddess of Pithaora at the present day is *Patani Devi*, who is represented with four arms and attended by several naked male figures, which lead me to suppose that she must be a Jaina goddess

In Samudra Gupta's inscription the names of two other places are joined with Prishtapura, under the rule of the same king, which I read as follows *Prishtapura aka, Mahendragiri aka, Udyān aka, Svāmudatta* If *Pithaora* be accepted as the representative of the first, then *Udyāra* may be identified with Uchahara, and *Mahendragiri* with Mahiyar, with its lofty conical hill, crowned by the far-famed temple of Sārdā Devi, or Saraswati

As these inscriptions of the Gupta period are of paramount interest for early Indian history, I will forestal their detailed translations in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, by giving a brief statement of their contents at once *Facsimiles* of the dates will be found in the accompanying Plate³

¹ The alteration required to change *śrisapt* into *trishasht* in Gupta characters is very small, and the error was very likely due to the engraver, owing to some smearing of the original ink letters

² See line 16 Samudra Gupta's Inscription on the Allahabad Pillar, and Prinsep's Translation in Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, VI p 979

³ See Plate IV

Copper-plate No 1—RĀJĀ HASTIN, Samvat 156

"Glory to Mahadeva! Well be it! In the year one hundred and fifty-six of the enjoyment of sovereignty by the Gupta kings, in the year *Mahā Varsākhā*, in the month of Kārtika, on the third of the waxing moon. On that aforesaid day, by the great King Śū Hastin, sprung from the house of the *Parivṛjaka* princes, great-grandson of Mahārājā Devāhva, grandson of Mahārājā Pribhannina, and son of Mahārājā Damodara—giver of thousands of kine, of elephants and horses, of store of gold pieces and of land, diligent in homage to his spiritual guides, and to his father and mother, most devoted to the gods and to Brahmins, victorious in many hundreds of battles, the delight of his race—with a view to enhance his own worthiness, and that he might make himself to mount by the flights of steps celestial, the village of *Vasuntarāspendika* has been ceded, absolutely, to Gopiswāmin, Bhavaswāmin, Sandhyāputra, Divākaraḍatta, Bhāskaraḍatta, and Sūryadatta, Vājasanya, Mādhyandina, Brahmins of the stock of Kutsi.

"In all directions this village has fesses of demarcation. On the north side is the boundary of Mōna and that of Pūrvabhūkti. To Sandhyāputra and the rest the place is assigned, privileged from the ingress of fortune-tellers and soldiers, and with right to rid itself of robbers.

"By virtue of these presents, impediments to the franchises herein patented are not to be opposed, even in after-times, by those who arise in my family, or by those who are maintained by substance accruing from my shares. Thus it is enacted. Let one do otherwise than as I have decreed, and though my soul shall have transmigrated into another body, I will, with intense vigilance, bring him to destruction."

(Here follows the usual quotation against resumption of land)

"The end. And this was engrossed by Sūryadatta, son of the financier, Ravidatta, grandson of the financier and minister Nudatta, great-grandson of the Minister Vakra. The commissioner in the transaction was Bhāgraha."

I have given the greater part of this translation in the very words of Dr Hall, excepting, of course, the passage regarding the date. Dr Hall translates '*rājye bhuktan*' as "extinction of the sovereignty," but, according to my view, which has the strong support of Babu Rajendra Lāla Mitra, the true meaning is "possession of sovereignty."

Copper-plate No 2—RĀJĀ HASTIN, Samvat 163 (read 173)

An abstract of this inscription, embracing all its material points, has been given by Professor Hall, whose account I follow after the specification of the date¹

¹ See Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, XXX pp 8, 9

"Glofy to Mihādeva! Well be it! In the year one hundred and sixty-three of the possession of sovereignty by the Gupta kings, in the year *Mahā Asvayuja*, in the month of Chaitia, on the second of the waxing moon On that aforesaid day, by the great King Sri Hastin, sprung from the house of the Paivrajaka princes, &c, &c, was bestowed on several Brahmins (mentioned by name), in perpetuity, 'the benefice' of *Korparika*, which apparently was situated in the heart of a village

"The estate thus assigned was bounded on the east by the ditch of Korparia, on the north by Nimuktakikonaka in the village of Vangara, on the south by Mavrika and Amvritasantāraka in Valaka, and on the west by Nāgasari To the south lay the allotment of Balavaiman

"The stanzas of the other grant are repeated in this, but, before the last of them, we have another 'He who resumes land, given by himself or given by another, transformed to a dung-worm, along with his progenitors, receives retribution'

"Sūryaditta is now become 'great fiscal' He styles his grandfather 'financier,' and no longer 'minister' Bhāgīaha, as seven years before, is the commissioner His name here precedes his title, in the Sanskrit"

Each of the sets of plates, as I have said already, is accompanied by a rude signet ring "Of the fortunate Hastin," is inscribed on one of the rings, "The fortunate King Hastin," on the other

Copper-plate No 3—RĀJĀ JAYANĀTHA, Samvat 174.

"Aum! Be it well! Descended from Achchakalpa was the Mahārāja UGHA DEVA, whose son, bowing down to his father's feet, born of the queen *Kumari Devi*, was Mahārāja KUMĀRA DEVA, whose son, bowing down to his father's feet, born of the queen *Jaya Svāmīni*, was Mahārāja JAYA SWAMI, whose son, bowing down to his father's feet, born of the queen *Rāmā Devi*, was Mahārāja VYAGHRA, whose son, bowing down to his father's feet, born of the queen *Majjhita Devi*, was Mahārāja JAYANĀTHA, who, being in prosperity,¹ hereby notifies to all Brahmins, cultivators, and artisans, dwelling in *Nāgadeya-santaka Chandapallika* [? the village of Chandapalli in the district of Nāgod], that this village, undisturbed by thieves, not liable to have soldiers or officials quartered upon it, and well provided with water, &c, is given to Mittraswāmī, a Kānwa Brahman, of the Mādhyandini division of the Vājasaneyā sect, for the enhancement of my meritorious acts And further, that all must pay to him the due rents, produce, fines, and presents, and be subject to his commands"

[Here follows the usual prohibition against resumption by any of the king's descendants, and the well-known quota-

¹ The word here used '*kusāl*' is the same in all these inscriptions, and means simply 'being in good health' It would thus appear to be equivalent to the English testamentary form of "being of sound mind"

tion from the Mahābhārata, promising 60,000 years of heaven to the giver of land, and the same period in hell to the resumer of land]

“ Samvatsara one hundred and seventy-four, month of Ashādha, fourteenth day On the aforesaid day this is written by me, Bhogika *Gunnjakṛiti*, son of Bhogika *Dhivvadatta*, grandson of the great Bhogika *Ilāmatya* Sarvvadatta, head of the correspondence office Samvat 174, Ashādha, day 14 ’¹

Copper-plate No 4 — RÁJÁ JAYANĀTHA, Samvat 177

This inscription opens with the genealogy of Rájá Jayanātha, as given in the last copper-plate, and records the gift of the village of Dhavashandika Then follows the date

“ Samvatsara one hundred and seventy-seven, month of Chaitra, twenty-second day Written by *Gallana*, minister of peace and war [*Sandhivigrahika*], son of Bhogika *Vaishadatta*, grandson of Bhogika *Phalgudattamātya*, the householder, Sarvvadatta, head of the correspondence office ”

[Here follows a postscript which has no counterpart in the previous inscription]

“ The limits of possession are extended to the fields of corn, the mounds, the tracts of gold (?), the grass-meadows for cattle, the mango orchards, the surrounding woods, and all the village wells ”

Copper-plate No 5 — RÁJÁ HASTIN, Samvat 191

“ Glory to Mahādeva ! Be it well ! One hundred and ninety-one years of the enjoyment of sovereignty by the Gupta kings having passed, in the year *Mahā Chaitra* on the third day of the waning moon of the month of Māgha On that very day, month and year aforesaid, by the king of the race of Parivrajaka [ascetics], great-grandson of Maharaja DEVANĪYA, grandson of Maharaja PRABHĀNJANA, son of Maharaja DAMODARA Mahārāja HASTIN—giver of thousands of kine, elephants, horses, gold and land, renderer of homage to his preceptors and parents, devoted to the gods and to Brahmins, victor in hundreds of battles, delighter of his dynasty—was bestowed, at the request of Mahādevī Deva, the village named *Bālugaritta*—well defined on all sides by *Purvaghata* [the Eastern ghāt], and other boundary marks, not infested by thieves, not liable to be molested by royal troops or officials, with all its fields and produce, buildings and inhabitants, together with other belongings—on *Govinda Swāmi*, *Gomika Swāmi*, and *Dava Swāmi*, Apamanyava Brahmins of the *Chandoga* and *Gautama* sects, by this copper-plate [*tāmasāsana*], that it may be enjoyed by their posterity

¹ In this inscription the date is given both in words and in figures

"Thus have I enhanced the pious acts of my parents and myself, raising a succession of steps that may lead to heaven, and please Mahâdevi Devî!"

[Here follows the usual appeal to his successors against resumption, and the well-known quotation from the Mahâbhârata]

"This was written by Vibhudatta, the minister for peace and war [Mahâsândhika Vigrahika], son of Sûryadatta, grandson of Ravidatta, great grandson of Bhogika Naradatta, and great great grandson of the Minister Vakra Agent the Adhikâta Nara Sinha Samvat 191, Magh, day 3"

By comparing the genealogy of the ministers with that of the Râjâs in this and the previous inscriptions of Hastin dated in 156 and 173, it appears that the long reign of Hastin had covered two generations of ministers

Copper-plate No 6 — RÂJÂ SARVVANÂTHA, Samvat 197

"Aum! Be it well! Descended from *Achchakalpa* was the Mahâ râja UGHA DEVA, whose son, reverencing his father's feet, born of the queen *Râmâ Devi*, was Mahârâja VYAGHRA, whose son, reverencing his father's feet, born of the queen *Mayhita Devi*, was Maharaja JAYANATHA, whose son, reverencing his father's feet, born of the queen *Murunda Swâmî*, was Mahârâja SARVVANÂTHA, who, being in good health, hereby makes known to all Brahmans, cultivators, and artisans, inhabitants of the two villages *Vyâghra-pallika* and *Kâchhara-pallika*, that these villages,—undisturbed by thieves, and not liable to have soldiers or officials quartered upon them, together with their produce, fines, rents, and whatever pertained to the king, together with wood, water, &c, —which were presented to *Puhndra Bhatta* in perpetuity, while the sun and moon shall exist, have been transferred by the said Bhatta to *Kumara-Swâmî* that he and his posterity may enjoy their possession, and maintain the worship and sacrifices of the goddess *Prishtapurika Devi*, the family deity of Kâitika Deva of Mânpur, and [further] being bound to observe the law of land gifts, [the king] approved the said transfer by this decree engraved on copper [*tâmrâsâsana*], and directs you to pay the due rents, fines, produce, gold, &c"

[Here follows the usual quotation from the Mahâbhârata]

"This is written in Samvatsara one hundred and ninety-seven, in the month of *Asvayuja*, the twentieth day, by *Manoratha*, the minister of peace and war, son of *Bhogika Varâhadatta*, grandson of *Bhogika Phâlgudatta mâtya*"

[Here follow the names and titles of some interior officers]

This inscription is interesting, as it differs from the others in being a confirmation by the king of a transfer of land

by a previous grantee, instead of the usual record of an original gift

Copper-plate No 7 — MAHÁRÁJA SANKSHOBHA, Samvat 209

"Glory to the divine Vāsudeva! Be it well! In the year two hundred and nine of the peaceful and prosperous rule of the Guptis, in the Samvatsara Mahā Asvayuja, in the month of Chaitra, the thirteenth day of the waxing moon. On the aforesaid day, month, and year, descended from the stock of Bhīradwāja, through the ascetic (Parivrājaka) King SUSARMAN was the Mahārāja DEVAHYA, whose son was Mahārāja PRABHANJANA, whose son was Mahārāja DAMODARA, whose son was Mahārāja HASTIN, giver of thousands of cows, gold, and land, reverencer of his preceptor and parents, worshipper of the gods and Brahmans, the victor in a hundred battles, &c,¹ by whose son Mahārāja SANKSHOBHA, for the increase of the pious acts of his parents and himself, a grant was made, at the request of Chotugomika, as recorded on this copper plate, of half the village of *Upana* (?), in the district of *Muni Nāgapedha* (?), free from thieves and quarrels, that the various sorts of sacrifices may be duly performed by the family of Kartinka Deva, in honour of the goddess Prishtapūnika Devī "

[Here follows the usual quotation from the Mahābhārata]

"This is written by Isvarādāsa, son of Bhūjīngadāsa, and grandson of Jivita, by order from his own mouth. Chaitra, day 10 "

[This figure should be 13, to agree with the written date given above]

The letters of this inscription are throughout small and badly formed, and consequently there are many doubtful places. But I believe that the above abstract gives a very fair idea of the main points of the record. I notice that the king has become a worshipper of Vishnu, and that the writer of the inscription does not belong to the old family which had served his ancestors for several generations.

Copper-plate No 8 — MAHÁRÁJA SARVVANĀTHA, Samvat 214

"Aum! Be it well! [The genealogy of Mahārāja SARVVANĀTHA is given exactly as in No 6, dated in Samvat 197] Mahārāja Sarvvanātha, being in prosperity, hereby notifies to all the Brahmans, cultivators, and artisans who dwell in the half village of *Ghotasansa-Kadhepashandika*,² that by this grant written on copper I bestow one-half of this village, not liable to the quartering of soldiers and officials, with a fort, &c., together with its whole produce, on Chotugomika, that his posterity may enjoy its possession while the sun and moon exist. And Chotugomika on his part undertakes to continue the various sacrifices and services required in honour of the goddess Prishtapūnika Devī. All the rents, taxes, &c., must therefore be paid to him "

² Here occurs a term *Sāshtadasada virojya*, which my Pandit translates, 'In the kingdom of the seventeen great forests,' but the word appears rather to comprise *ashtadasa* 'or "eighteen"'

³ In No 4, inscription of Jayanātha this appears to be *Dhavashandika*

[Here follows the usual quotation from the *Mahābhārata*]

“ This is written in Samvatsara two hundred and fourteen, in the month of Pausha, the sixth day, by Nātha, the minister for peace and war, son of Manoiatha, grandson of Varāhadatta, and great grandson of Phālgudattamātya Dhritiśwamika, agent (*datika*) ”

Stone Pillar No^o 9 — RĀJĀS HASTIN and SARVVANĀTHA

“ Be it well ! Bowing down to the feet of Mahādeva, this sacrificial pillar (*yashti*) was set up by Siva Dāsa, son of Vasu Srāmika, grandson of the Bhogi (headman) Randana, in the reign of Mahārāja Hastin, * * * Mahārāja SARVVANĀTHA, in the year Mahā-Magha, in the month of Kāitika, the 10th day ”

I am quite unable to make any thing of the word which occurs after *rājye*, and immediately preceding the name of Mahārāja Sarvvanātha. I suppose that the pillar may have been set up as a boundary-mark between the territories of the two Rājās. I think it probable that the two principalities ruled over by these petty chiefs may have been the modern districts of Uchahara and Mahiyar. The son of Hastina reigning at *Kho*, and the son of Jayanatha either at Mahiyar or at Kāri-Tālai.

DATE OF THE GUPTAS

For fixing the epoch of the Guptas we have the following data —

- 1 — Date of Budha Gupta's pillar inscription at Eian in the year 165, on Thursday the 12th of Ashadha sudi
- 2 — Date of Dhruvabhata in Samvat 447, he being presumably the king of that name who was reigning at the time of Hwen Thsang's visit in A. D. 640
- 3 — Date of the Morvi copper-plate in the year 585 of the Gupta era on the 5th Phālgun sudi, at the time of a solar eclipse¹
- 4 — The name of the 12-year cycle of Jupiter in five different inscriptions added to the date of the Gupta era

I will begin my examination of this question with the date of Dhruvabhata. We now possess a complete list of the kings of Balabhi for twenty successive reigns, ending

¹ The date on the copper plate is actually 5th *Phālgun sudi*, which is obviously wrong for the eclipse, but if we suppose that the inscription was engraved on that day, and that the eclipse took place five days earlier at the *amāvāsya*, or conjunction, on the 14th *Māgha badi*, then the date of *Phālgun sudi* 5th may stand.

with Dhruvabhata, who is the only king of this name. If, therefore, he is not the Dhruvabhata of Hwen Thsang, his date must be placed earlier than the visit of the Chinese pilgrim by at least one reign. But if we assume that he was the same king, then the beginning of the era will be close upon 447 years earlier than 640 — $447 = 193$ A. D. Of course, Dhruvabhata's inscription may be some 25 or 30 years either earlier or later than the pilgrim's visit. In any case, the initial-point of the Gupta era will lie between A. D. 163 and 223.

Accepting this period of 60 years as covering the whole of Dhruvabhata's possible reign, we have now to find some one year within its limit which, taken as the starting-point of the Gupta era, will fulfil the other two conditions of the weekday in Budha Gupta's inscription of 165, and of the solar eclipse of the Morvi inscription in 585 of the era. This I have found in the year 195 A. D., which would be the first year of the era, supposing the Dhruvabhata of the inscription to be the prince of the same name visited by Hwen Thsang. That he must have been so, seems to me to be *almost* certain, as I can find no later initial-point for the era that will agree with the two conditions of the Budha Gupta and Morvi inscriptions. I may mention more particularly that the Balabhi era, which is advocated by Mr. Fergusson and Mr. Burgess as the starting-point of the Gupta kâl, does not agree with either of the two test-dates of the Budha Gupta and Morvi inscriptions, according to my calculations. I may add, also, that it would place Dhruvabhata of the inscription dated in 447 as low as 765 A. D., that is, in the very middle of the reign of the famous Wan Râjâ.

To prevent any misapprehension on this point, I must state that I have calculated both of these test dates myself, with reference to the Balabhi era —

- (1) Date of Budha Gupta in the year 165, on *Thursday* the 12th Ashâdha sudi. By adding $318 + 165$, we obtain A. D. 483, on which date the luni-solar year of the Hindus began on a Wednesday. The year was intercalary; but as the additional month was Srâvana, which comes after Ashâdha, the 12th of Ashâdha sudi was the 101st day of the year, equal to *Friday* 3rd June O. S. 483 A. D.
- (2) Date of the Morvi inscription in the year 585, on 14th Mâgh badi at the time of a solar eclipse.

Here I read 14th of Māgha badī, instead of 5th Phālgun sudi, as given in the plate, for the simple reason that no eclipse of any kind can possibly take place on the fifth of a Hindu lunar month. Now $585 + 318 = 903$ A D, but as Māgha is the last month but one of the Hindu year, it will fall in A D 904, in which year there was no eclipse of the sun in either Māgha or Phālgun.

I return, therefore, to the year 195 A D, as the probable initial-point of the Gupta era. Taking that year as the year *1 anno Guptæ*, the following are the results of my calculations —

- (1) Date of Budha Gupta in 165, on Thursday 12th Ashādha Sudi. Adding 165 to 194, we obtain A D 359, when the Hindu luni-solar year began on Tuesday 16th March O S. As that year was not intercalary, the 12th of Ashādha sudi was the 101st day, equal to *Thursday*, the 24th June O S 359 A D, as required.
- (2) Date of the solar eclipse on 14th Māgh badī Samvat 585. Adding 194, we obtain A D 779, but as Māgh is the last month but one of the Hindu year, the date will fall in A D 780. Now the 14th Māgh badī fell on 10th February O S 780 A D, on which very day there was an eclipse of the sun visible in Eastern Asia.

Here, then, is a date which successfully fulfils all the three tests to which it has been subjected. It agrees with the week-day recorded in Budha Gupta's pillar inscription, it corresponds precisely with the day of the solar eclipse mentioned in the Morvi inscription, and lastly, it places the period of the only Dhruvabhata yet found in the Balabhi inscriptions in the year 641 A D [$447 + 194$], just one year after the date of Hwen Thsang's visit to Balabhi, when the reigning prince actually bore that name.

The fourth test of the dates recorded in the 12-year cycle of Jupiter I am unable to apply at present, for want of exact information about the cycle itself. All the authorities agree that the 12 years bear the same names as the 12 months, and follows in the same order, each being distinguished by the prefix of Mahā, as Mahā Chaitra, Mahā Vaisākha, &c. The years are solar years, which are named after the nakshatra or lunar asterism in which Jupiter rises or sets, provided the asterism is one which gives its name to a month.

The 27 nakshatras are, therefore, divided into 12 groups, some of 2 and some of 3 asterisms. Thus Aswini and Bharani are grouped together, and should Jupiter rise or set in Bharani, the year must be called Aswayuja, because Aswini is the name-giver of the month. Now, as Jupiter performs one-twelfth of a revolution in 361 0267 days, he passes through 86-twelfths in 85 solar years. Consequently one of the Jovian names has to be omitted in every period of 85 solar years. In the 60-year cycle the 86th year is regularly expunged in Northern India. But for the 12-year cycle a different arrangement was adopted, the names of Chaitra and Aswayuja being alternately omitted. As these two names are derived from exactly opposite asterisms, the period of omission must have been sometimes more and sometimes less than 85 years. I have not yet discovered any statement as to the precise arrangement adopted, but I find that a series of three periods, two composed of 89 years each, and one of 77 years, or altogether 255 years, gives a mean period of exactly 85 years. The true period, as stated by Aryabhatta and Varaha Mihira, is $85\frac{2}{3}$, or 85 227 years, and as the fraction would amount to 331 days in four periods, one of the omitted names should have been allowed to stand after four periods, which would have made the average period very nearly exact, as the fraction, 227 of a year, multiplied by nine, gives only 043 in excess of 2 years. But as I do not find any trace of such an adjustment, I presume that the fraction was disregarded in calculation.

According to my approximate calculation, which places the establishment of the Gupta era in A D 194, and the completed year 1 in A D 195, the year Mahâ Vaisakha of Râja Hastin, which was the year 156 of the Gupta era, would correspond with $194 + 156 =$ A. D 350. Taking this year as the starting-point of the inscriptions bearing double dates in the Gupta era, and also in the 12-year cycle of Jupiter, the following will be their corresponding dates in the Christian era.

	Gupta era	12 year cycle of Jupiter	A D	
Mahârâja Hastin	156	Mahâ Vaisâkha	350	• or perhaps 383
Ditto	173	Mahâ Aswayuja	367	
Ditto	191	Mahâ Chaitra	385	
Mahârâjas Hastin & Sarv- vâth		Mahâ Mâgha	395	
Mahârâja Sankashobha	209	Mahâ Aswayuja	403	

As the number of years elapsed between 156 and 209, or 53 years, divided by 12, leave five over, we learn that no Jovian year was omitted during this period, as Aswayuja is the fifth name after Vaisākha.

In his account of Indian eras, Abu Rihān speaks of the Gupta kāl and the Balabhi kāl as if they were the same, and he fixes the initial-point of the latter in Saka 241, or A. D. 319. But, as I have already shown, this could not have been the starting-point of the era of the Guptas, as it disagrees with the week-day of Budha Gupta's inscription. Neither could it have been the starting-point of the era used by the Balabhi kings themselves, as it disagrees with the date of Dhruvabhata. My impression is, that Abu Rihān had found that the Guptas and Balabhis actually used the same era, and as he knew that the era called the Balabhi kāl began in Saka 241, or A. D. 319, he took it for granted that this was the era used by the Gupta and Balabhi kings. At the same time he knew that the Guptas preceded the Balabhis, as he distinctly states that "the era which bore their name was the epoch of their extermination." According to Abu Rihān's views therefore, the Gupta power in Western India was extinct in A. D. 319. But we have an inscription of Skanda Gupta, carved on the rock of Junagarh in Surāshtra, which is dated in 138 and 139 of the Gupta kāl. The Gupta dominion was, therefore, still intact in Surāshtra so late as $139 + 194 = 333$ A. D. I conclude, therefore, that the Balabhi era, which began in A. D. 319, had no connection whatever with the downfall of the Gupta dynasty.

Having established this point, as I believe, satisfactorily, it remains to be shown how the epoch of 195 A. D., as the 1st year of the Gupta era, agrees with the data which may be gathered from other sources.

(1) The Śenāpati Bhattāraka is supposed to have become virtually independent on the death of Skanda Gupta, but as the title of Maharāja was not assumed until the accession of his second son, Drona Sinha, who himself states that he was "installed by the king of the whole world," I conclude, with some certainty, that Balabhi was an acknowledged dependency of the Gupta kingdom until the time of Drona Sinha. Now, the earliest inscription of his successor, Dhruva Sena I., is dated in 207, which, referred to the Gupta era, is equivalent to A. D. 401. If we place the beginning

of his reign in A D 390, that of his elder brother, Drona Sinha, may certainly be placed as early as 365 or 370, which would make him a contemporary of Budha Gupta, whose coins are dated in 174 of the Gupta era, or A D 368¹ Drona Sinha would, therefore, have been installed by Budha Gupta.

(2) The coins of Toramāna, who certainly succeeded to the power of Budha Gupta in Mālava, are dated in 52 and 53² If we refer these dates to the Balabhi era of 319, we obtain $319 + 52 = 370$ and 371 A D as the period of Toramāna's occupation of the Narbada districts of the Gupta empire Now, the pillar of Budha Gupta at Eran is dated in 165 of the Gupta era, or A D 359, and his silver coins in 174, or A D 368, both of which dates are compatible with the subsequent erection at Eran of the boar statue in the first year of Toramāna's reign by the same person, Dhanya Vishnu, who set up Budha Gupta's pillar

According to these determinations, the approximate Gupta chronology will stand as follows —

A D	Gupta era	Balabhi era	
135			Sri Gupta
165			Ghatot Kachin
194	0		Establishment of the Gupta era
195	1		CHANDRA GUPTA I
230	36		SAMUDRA GUPTA, Patākama
264	70		CHANDRA GUPTA II, Vikrama dates 82 93
290	96		KUMARA GUPTA, Mahendra dates 96, 130
319	115	1	20th year of Kumara Balabhi era established
324	120	6	(DEVYA GUPTA ?)
329	125	11	SKANDA GUPTA Kramaditya, dates 128 146
338	134	20	(Senapati Bhātānka, Governor of Surāshtra)
349	145	31	BUDHA GUPTA dates 165 174 180 odd
360	156	42	(Sridhara Sena, son of Bhātānka)
366	162	48	Mahārāja Drona Sinha, installed by Budha Gupta.
369	165	51	Toramāna, dates 52 53

Silver coins of the Guptas and their successors

In discussing the epoch of the Gupta kings, I have referred to the dates on their coins, as well as on those of Toramāna, the immediate successor of Budha Gupta in Mālava As I have lately acquired some coins of at least two other princes of Northern India, and have succeeded

¹ I have since obtained another coin of Budha Gupta, of which the decimal figure is 80

² These dates have hitherto been read as 82 and 83, but as the figures 2 and 3 are invariably formed by horizontal strokes, the decimal number placed above them becomes 50, and cannot, therefore, have any connection with the Gupta era

in reading the inscriptions on the coins of two other princes of Southern India, all of whom were the immediate successors of the Guptas, I take this opportunity of reviewing in detail the whole series of the silver coins of these princes now known to us

The silver money of the Guptas presents such a marked difference to their gold coinage, and at the same time has such a striking resemblance to the silver coins of the Satraps of Surâshtra, that there can be no doubt it was a direct imitation of the Satrap coinage. The fact that we possess gold coins of Ghatot Kacha, Chandra Gupta I, and Samudra Gupta, while the silver coinage begins only with Chandra Gupta II, points to the same conclusion, as we learn from tradition that Surâshtra was first added to the Gupta dominions during the reign of that prince.

The coins of the Satraps present us on the obverse with a royal head, surrounded by a legend in barbarous Greek letters, and with the date in old Indian numerals behind the head. On the reverse there is a Chaitya symbol, with the sun and moon to the right and left, surrounded by an Indian legend, giving the name of the Satrap and that of his father. On the coins of Chandra Gupta II, the obverse presents us with the head of the king, without any Greek letters, and with the date placed in front of the face. On the reverse the Chaitya symbol is replaced by a peacock, with outspread wings and drooping tail. On one class of the coins of Kumâra Gupta the barbarous Greek legend still appears, but the letters appear to be confined to a repetition of ONONO. On the reverse is a figure, which I take to be that of a peacock standing to the front with outspread wings, but with the tail hanging behind unseen. Mr Thomas takes this for a figure of Pârvata, but, to my eye, the device appears to be a simple peacock. On some of the later coins of Skanda Gupta a recumbent bull takes the place of the peacock.

On the coins of Bhîma Sena, Toramâna, and Sânti Varma, their successors in Northern India, the king's face is turned to the left. The date is still placed in front of the face, but it no longer refers to the Gupta era. The reverse, however, is still the same peacock, with expanded wings and outspread tail. On the coins of the princes of Western India, the Valabhis and Râshtrakutas, the head faces to the right, but there are no letters or date, while on the reverse the

former substitutes the *trissul*, or trident, of Siva, and the latter a recumbent bull, which is also a symbol of Siva. With these few explanatory remarks, I now proceed to describe the coins, which are principally taken from my own cabinet. The normal weight of the coins was about 30 or 32 grains. Several of the early pieces, which are much worn, are lighter; while some of the later ones, containing alloy, are heavier, rising to 34 and 35 grains. The whole of these coins are arranged in the accompanying plate ¹

CHANDRA GUPTA II

Vikrama

No 1—Obv Head of the king to right, with long hair and moustaches, and a collar round the neck. Remains of barbarous Greek letters

Rev—Peacock standing to front with expanded wings. To the right a sun or star. Legend in old Gupta characters *Sri Guptaikulasya Mahārājādhrāja Sri Chandra Gupta Vikramāṅkasya* = "Coin of the king of kings, Sri Chandra Gupta Vikramāṅka, the descendant of Sri Gupta"

Only four specimens of this coin are known to me: one which belonged to the late Mr. Freeling, first published by Mr. Thomas, two belonging to Sir E. C. Bayley, and the fourth to myself.

No 2—Obv Head of king to right with moustaches, as on No 1. Traces of a barbarous Greek legend.

Rev—Peacock standing to front with expanded wings. Sun or star to right. Legend in old Gupta characters *Parama bhāgavata Mahārājādhrāja Sri Chandra Gupta Vikramāditya* = "The worshipper of the Supreme Bhagavata, the king of kings, Sri Chandra Gupta Vikramāditya"

No 3—Similar to No 2, but the letters smaller.

The two coins given in the plate belong to my own cabinet. Mr. Newton and Sir E. C. Bayley have published similar coins which they attribute to *Bakra* Gupta. But I look upon the name so read as only an imperfect rendering of Chandra. The title of Vikramāditya, which was certainly borne by Chandra Gupta II, is also in favour of my views, as we have not yet found two Gupta kings bearing the same titles. Sir E. C. Bayley's reading of the date on his coin

¹ See Plate V. All the sketches are from photographs.

as 90 is another strong evidence against any Bakra Gupta, as we know that Chandra Gupta II was reigning in 93, and Kumâra Gupta in 96 Up to the present time, therefore, I remain quite unconvinced of the reality of Bakra Gupta I may add that the coins attributed to Bakra Gupta have a sun or star, beside the peacock, as on the acknowledged coins of Chandra Gupta

KUMARA GUPTA

No 4 — Obv Head of the king, with moustaches to the right Barbarous Greek letters On some specimens I have noticed traces of a date behind the head

Rev — Peacock standing to front with outspread wings No sun or star Legend in old Gupta characters *Parama bhāgavata Rājādhuājā Śrī Kumāra Gupta Mahendrāditya* = "The worshipper of the Supreme Bhagavata, the king of kings Śrī Kumāra Gupta Mahendrāditya

No 5 — Similar to No 4, but the king's head larger, and with the expanded title of *Mahārājādhuājā*

No 6 — Obv King's head, without moustaches, to right In front of the face the date 129

No 7 — Obv Similar head with the date of 130

Rev — Peacock standing to front, with outspread wings and expanded tail Legend in old Gupta characters *Devajanita vijitāvaniravanipati Kumāra Gupta* "His Majesty Kumāra Gupta, having conquered the earth, rules"

SKANDA GUPTA—KRAMĀDITYA

No. 8 — Obv King's head with moustaches, to right

Rev — Chaitya symbol Legend in old Gupta characters very much crowded together *Māharājā Kumāraputra Parama Mahāditya Mahārāja Skanda Gupta?*

Mr Newton has published a similar coin,¹ of which he remarks that the title of Mahārāja refers it to the Gupta series, while the addition of the father's name forms a connecting link with the coins of the Satraps of Surāshtra.

¹ Bombay Asiatic Society's Journal, VII, p 13, and fig 13

Mr Newton reads the name of the king as Rudra or Nanda I think, however, that it is intended for Skanda Gupta, the letters being so crowded together, that only portions of them could be delineated on the coin. I should like to have read Deva Gupta, but there is a tail to the second letter on both coins, which points to *nd* or *ndr*. Perhaps the name may be *Chandra Gupta III*, which would be a natural appellation of Kumâra's eldest son, as it has always been a Hindu custom to name one child after its grandfather, just as Kumâra's own father Chandra Gupta II was named after *his* grandfather Chandra Gupta I.

No 9 — Obv Head of king without moustaches to right. In front of the face the date 144

No 10 — Obv Similar to No 9, but with the date 145

Rev — Peacock standing to front, with expanded wings and outspread tail. Legend in old Gupta characters *Devajanta vyūtāvaniravanipati Skanda Gupta* = "His Majesty Skanda Gupta, having conquered the earth, rules"

No 11 — Obv Rude head of king with moustaches to right. Two characters on helmet, and rude Greek letters in front of face

Rev — Very rude representation of the peacock with expanded wings standing to front. Legend in old Gupta characters, as read by Mr Thomas *Parama bhāgavata Śrī Skanda Gupta Kramāditya* = "The worshipper of the Supreme Bhagavata, Śrī Skanda Gupta Kramāditya"

No 12 — Obv Rude head of king to right without moustaches

Rev — Recumbent bull to right. Legend in old Gupta characters, as read by Mr Thomas *Parama bhāgavata Śrī Skanda Gupta Kramāditya* = "The worshipper of the Supreme Bhagavata, Śrī Skanda Gupta Kramāditya"

BUDHĀ GUPTA

No 13 — Obv Head of king to right, without moustaches. In front of face the date 174¹.

¹ This date is read as 155 by Mr Thomas, but the value of the decimal is known from my Jayanāth inscription, which is recorded in words as well as figures. A second specimen which I have since acquired has the decimal figure 80

Rev—Peacock standing to front, with outspread tail and expanded wings Legend in old Gupta characters *Devajayate vyitāvaniravanpati Sri Budha Gupta* = “His Majesty Budha Gupta, who has subdued the earth, rules.”

I obtained *five* of these coins at Benares in 1835, of which impressions are now before me All are dated in 174, as in my specimen in the plate

BHIMA SENA

We have now seen the last of the Guptas as represented by the silver coins, and have to deal with their successors, who continued the peacock device on their coins, but turned the faces of the obverse to the left, as if to denote the change of dynasty which had taken place But the dates still keep their position in front of the face, although it is difficult to read them from their incompleteness I have placed Bhima Sena before Toramāna on account of the superior execution of his coin The specimen in the plate was obtained by Mr Rivett-Carnac at Ajudhya, and is, I believe, unique

No 16—Obv Head of king to left, with portions of the date in front of face

Rev.—Peacock standing to front, with outspread wings and expanded tail, copied from the Gupta coins Legend in old Gupta characters *Devajānita vyitāvaniravanpati Sri Bhima Sena* = “His Majesty Bhima Sena, who has subdued the earth, rules”

No 17—Obv Head of king to left

Rev—Peacock standing to front, very much worn, only a few letters of the legend are visible I can read the word *Deva* at the beginning of the legend, and immediately preceding it I read the letters *sara* or *sana* The coin may possibly belong to Bhima Sena; but this reading is doubtful

TORAMĀNA

No 18—Obv Head of king to left Date in front of the face 52

Rev—Rude peacock standing to front, with outspread wings and expanded tail Legend in old Gupta characters

Devajanta vijāṭāvaniravanipati Sri Toramāna = "His Majesty Sri Toramana, having subdued the earth, rules"

No 19 — Similar to No 18, but dated in 53

The two representations in the plate are taken from Mr Thomas's autotypes of the coins. The dates are perfectly clear, and can only be read as 52 and 53.

The late Dr Bhau Daji and Babu Rajendra Lāla Mitra have, independently of each other, proposed to identify this Toramāna, the king of kings of Mālava, with the Yuva Rājā, or sub-king Toramāna of Kashmir, who spent the greater part of his life in prison in his native country. The identification appears to me to be utterly impossible, and I only mention it for the purpose of recording my dissent. All that we know of Toramāna of Malava is, that he ruled over the country between the Jumna and the Narbada, as shown by the inscription placed on the Great Boar at Eran in the first year of his own reign, and by the inscription set up in the temple of the Sun at Gwālior by the minister of his son Pasupati.

SÂNTI VARMA

No 20 — *Obv* Head of king to left, with imperfect date in front of face.

Rev — Peacock standing to front, with expanded wings and outspread tail. Legend in old Gupta characters *Devajanta vijāṭāvaniravanipati Sri Sânti Varma* = "His Majesty Sânti Varma, having conquered the earth, rules"

Nos 21 and 22 — Similar coins, but less perfect. The first coin, No 20, was procured at Rāmnagar in Rohilkhand, the ancient Ahichhatra. The others were obtained by Mr H. Rivett-Carnac at Ajudhya. The date appears to be the same on all the three specimens in the plate. I read it as 55, and would complete it to 155 if I could be certain that this Sânti Varma is the same as the king who is mentioned in the Apsar inscription¹. The genealogy recorded in this inscription gives (1) Krishna Gupta, (2) Harsha Gupta,

¹ In my first Report, Archaeological Survey of India I, p. 40, I mentioned that this important inscription was missing. The stone is still missing, but a beautiful impression of it taken by Major Kittoe himself was found by Mr Beglar in the Asiatic Society's Library. The translation given by Babu Rajendra Lalā was made from a Nāgarī transcript prepared by Kittoe. In this transcript I have now found that Kittoe has misread *Harsha* Gupta as *Hashka* Gupta. See Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, XXX, p. 272.

(3) Jivita Gupta, (4) Kumâra Gupta, (5) Dâmodara Gupta, (6) Mahâsena Gupta, (7) Mâdhava Gupta. Of the fourth of these kings, Kumâra Gupta, it is recorded that "he, with a view to obtain Lakshmi, assuming the form of Mount Mandâra, churned the milky ocean produced by the forces of the moon like king Sânti Varma." Regarding the date of these Guptas, all that we can say at present is, that they must be placed before the famous Sasângka Narendra Gupta, who destroyed the Bodhi tree at Bodh Gaya, close to A. D. 600. A family of seven kings would reign about 175 to 200 years, which would place Krishna Gupta about A. D. 400, and Kumâra Gupta II about A. D. 490. If, therefore, we reckon Sânti Varma's coin date of 155 from the same starting-point as the dates on Toramâna's coins, we shall get $155 + 318 = 473$ for the date of Sânti Varma, which agrees very well with the approximate date obtained for his antagonist, Kumâra Gupta. But these dates are still only approximate, although they are sufficiently accurate to fix the period of Sânti Varma and Kumâra Gupta II somewhere in the fifth century of the Christian era.

SENAPATI BHATÂRAKA

The remaining coins belong to the princes of Southern India, who succeeded to the power of the Guptas. Of these, the most famous were the rulers of Valabhi, who traced their genealogy up to the Senapati Bhatâraka. As his title implies, he was only the "general" of some powerful king, and I am willing to accept Major Watson's traditionary account, that he was the Governor of Surâshtra, under Skanda Gupta. As his eldest son Sri Dhara Sena takes only the same simple title, I conclude that he remained tributary to Budha Gupta. His second son Drona Sinha, however, not only bears the title of Mahârâjâ, but records that he was installed "by the king of the whole world." As I have already pointed out, this was probably the last act of supreme sovereignty performed by Budha Gupta, which was most probably forced upon him by the combined action of Drona Sinha of Surâshtra and Toramâna of Mâlava. Thus, at least, is my view of the relations between these kings, which tends to confirm the traditionary account regarding Senapati Bhatâraka, and to place him as the Governor of Surâshtra.

shortly after Skanda Gupta's death. The coins which I am now about to describe seem also to confirm this state of things, as I read on them the title of *Sāmanta*, which is equivalent to the *Senapati* of the inscriptions.

No 23 — Obv Head of king with moustaches to the right, two crescents on the head-dress or helmet. No trace of any legend or date.

Rev — The *trisul* or trident of Siva. Legend in modified Gupta characters: *Mahārājno Mahākshatra parama Sāmanta Mahā Sri Bhattarakasa*.

One of Mr Newton's coins and several of my own seem to read: *Rājno Mahākshatra paramāditya Rājno Sāmanta Mahā Sri Bhattarakasa*.

Both of these legends seem to me to refer distinctly to Bhattarakasa himself, and therefore the coins must be assigned to the founder of the dynasty. No 25 has the same legend, with several of the letters that are missing on No 23.

No 24 — Obv Head of the king with moustaches to right.

Rev — *Trisul*, or trident, of Siva. Legend in modified Gupta characters: *Mahārājno Mahākshatra Sāmanta Mahesa Pramāditya Dhara Senasa*.

The coin represented in the plate was obtained by me at Pushkar near Ajmer. A similar coin has been published by Mr Newton¹. The reading of the name is very doubtful.

I possess several other coins of the same types, but of much ruder execution, which I would assign to some of the later kings of Valabhi. The legends are much contracted, and are quite unintelligible, as at least one-half of the symbols are mere upright strokes with a knob at the top, like a common pin.

KRISHNA-RAJA

No 26 — Obv — Rude head of king with moustaches to right. No trace of legend or date.

Rev — Recumbent bull to right; legend in modified Gupta characters.

¹ Bombay Asiatic Society's Journal, VII, p. 14 and accompanying plate fig. 71.

Parama Maheswara, Mahāditya pādānudhyāta Sri Krishna Rāja=

“The Supreme King, the worshipper of Mahāditya (Siva), the fortunate Krishna Rāja”

Photographs of five coins of this type have already been published, with some remarks by the late Dr Bhau Dâjī.¹ He mentions that 83 coins were found by some boys in the village of Deolānā, Tālukā Bôglān, in the district of Nāsik. The coins vary in weight from 30 to 34 grains, the average weight being $33\frac{1}{2}$ grains. Bhau Dâjī's tentative reading is

Rajā parama Maheswara mānasa nripa Deva dhyāna Sri Kasa ?

He concludes by stating his opinion that “the coins belong to a king, probably of the Dakṣiṇ, about the end of the fourth century of the Christian era.” I am glad to be able to quote the opinion of one who had such an intimate knowledge of the coins of this early period, as my attribution of the coins to Krishna Rāja Rāshtrakuta assigns them to exactly the same time. Krishna Rāja's date is fixed within very narrow limits by the mention of his name in the early Chālukya inscriptions. He was the father of Indra Rāshtrakuta, who was defeated by Jaya Sinha Chālukya, the grandfather of Sri Vijaya Rājā, of whom we possess an inscription dated in Saka 394, or A. D. 179. Jaya Sinha's own date will, therefore, be about A. D. 400 to 430, and that of Krishna Rājā Rāshtrakuta, the father of his antagonist Indra, will be A. D. 375 to 400.

On some of my coins the word which I have read as *Mahāditya* may perhaps be *Mahakshatra*, in which case the translation would be “the reverencer of the great king,” that is, the Chālukya sovereign of Kalyān. The word which I have read as *pādānudhyāta* is quite clear and unmistakable. It means, literally, “bowing down to the feet,” and is used by a son towards his father, or by any king towards his predecessor, or by any person towards the god whom he especially worships. On some of the coins the final letter *ja* is omitted, and I was at first inclined to assign the coins to Kumāra (Gupta), the reverencer of the feet of the great king (his father Chandra Gupta). But the second letter of the name is not the same as is found in *parama*, &c., and the addition of *ja* would be left unexplained. Its omission on some coins was no doubt simply due to the faulty calculation of his space on the part of the engraver.

The only possible objection to this identification that occurs to me is the type, the recumbent bull, which is found on all the seals of the Valabhi kings, and which was no doubt their acknowledged symbol or ensign. But as the same bull is found on the coins of the Guptas themselves, as well as on the coins of some of the Nine Nāgas, there does not seem to be any reason why the Rashtrakutas should not have adopted it also. Their own proper symbol was Garud, the eagle of Vishnu. But we have in later times an exactly similar adoption of the symbol of another dynasty by the *Rathors* of Kanauj and the *Chandels* of Mahobā, both of whom placed on their coins the four-armed goddess Durgā, which was the ensign of the Haihayas of Chedi, whose coins they copied.

8—PATAINI DEVI

Eight miles to the north of Uplahara, and 4 miles to the east of Pithaora, the temple of Pataini Devi forms a conspicuous object in the treeless landscape, standing out boldly on a low projecting spur of the lofty hill whose quarries furnished the stones of the Bharhut sculptures. The temple itself is a very small one, being only 6 feet ten inches long by 6 feet 6 inches broad. But it is remarkable for its massive stones, and more particularly for its flat roof, which is formed of a single slab, 7 feet 8 inches by 7 feet 4 inches, after the manner of the early Gupta temples¹. Inside the temple is only 5 feet by 4 feet, with a door of one foot 10½ inches. The pedestal of the enshrined statue occupies the whole breadth of the sanctum. The figure of the goddess is 3½ feet high, and she is surrounded by a number of small figures, of which there are 5 above, 7 to the right, 7 to the left, and 4 below. Her four arms have been broken off, so that she now holds no symbols by which she could be recognised. But luckily the small figures have their names labelled below them in characters of the 10th or 11th century. Thus the five figures above, which are all females, are named *Bahurupini*, *Chāmurā*, *Padumāvati*, *Vijayā*, and *Sarāsati*. The seven to the left are named *Aparājita*, *Mahā munusi*, *Anantamati*, *Gandhāri*, *Mānasijālamālīni* and *Mānuji*. The seven to the right are named *Jyā*, *Anantamati*, *Vairātā*, *Gauri*, *Kālī*, *Mahākālī*, and *Vrjamsakalā*. Over the doorway

¹ See the plan and view of this temple in Plate VI

outside there are three figures, each squatted with hands on lap. The middle figure has an umbrella canopy and a bull on the pedestal, and is probably the Jain hierach Adināth. The figures to the right and left have each a snake on the pedestal, the former being canopied by a seven-headed serpent, and the latter by a five-headed serpent. These three figures have such a decided Jainish appearance, that I feel satisfied that the enshrined goddess must belong to the Jains. This conclusion is supported by the inferior positions assigned to the Brahmanical goddesses which surround the principal figure. On the outside of the temple also, both Siva and Pārvatī are represented in subordinate positions. The enshrined goddess is further attended by two lines of standing male figures, who are quite naked, and whose hands reach below their knees, in strict accordance with the Jain idea of human proportions.

The temple appears to be much older than the earliest date which can be assigned to the inscriptions. It is, of course, possible that the names may have been added long after the statue was set up. But I incline rather to the belief, that the present statue is of the same age as the inscriptions, and that it was set up in the old temple which had been for a long time empty.

The temple itself is remarkable for two lines of moulding which run right round the building, after the fashion of the mouldings of the early Gupta temples. These are well shown in the accompanying plate.¹ I am therefore strongly inclined to place the date of the temple as early as the time of the Guptas, and to identify it with the shrine of the goddess Rishṭapurika Devī, for whose service three of the land grants which were recorded in the copper-plate inscriptions previously noted were made by three different Rājās. There was formerly a portico in front of the door, supported on two pilasters, and two pillars in front. This is proved beyond all doubt by the angular ends of the architrave beam over the door, which must have been cut in this form to admit the similar angular ends of the architraves which spanned the spaces between the front pillars and the wall pilasters.

An attempt has been made to pull down the temple by wedging out two of the corner stones of the back wall. These are now sticking out from the building upwards of

¹ See Plate VI

one foot Apparently the destroyers were suddenly interrupted The people of the neighbouring village were unable, or perhaps only unwilling, to say by whom the attempt was made

9 — MAHIYAR

Mahiyar, the capital of a small chiefship of the same name, is a good-sized town of about 2,500 houses Its happy situation near the source of the Tons river at the northern end of an obligatory pass, leading from Allahabad and Benares to Jabalpur and the Narbada, must have ensured its occupation at a very early period At the present day it is known chiefly for its famous temple of the goddess Saraswatī, whose shrine crowns an isolated and lofty conical hill, three miles to the west of the town Only the basement of the old temple now remains, but the statue of the goddess is still there, and under her name of Sāṁddā Devī she is more widely known than any other deity between the Jumna and Narbada She is represented, as usual, with four arms and sitting on a *hausa*, or goose One of her hands is lost, a second carries a book, as the goddess of learning, and the other two hold the *vinā*, or lute, as the goddess of music The famous Banāphīu hero, Alhā, is said to have paid especial worship to Sāṁddā Devī, and to have built her temple Upwards of twenty Brahman *pūjāris* ascend the hill every morning, and remain throughout the day to receive the gifts of the numerous pilgrims who flock to the shrine

Lying outside the temple there is a long inscription of 39 lines, very much worn by exposure to the weather The slab is 3 feet 4 inches long by 2 feet 10 inches broad, with the first and last lines incised on the surrounding frame The record opens with an invocation to Saraswatī, "*Aum namah Saraswatye,*" but the whole inscription is so much injured, that I am afraid it will never be deciphered . .

Under the figure of the goddess, there is also a short inscription of four lines, which are so worn away, that I could read only the name of *Vāchaspathi* at the end of the second line

From the shapes of the letters, I think that these two inscriptions may be assigned to the ninth or tenth century

At the small village of Rāmpur on the tableland seven miles to the west of Mahiyar, and near a small temple, there

is a Sati pillar, with an inscription of five lines containing the name of a Rájá. The fourth and fifth lines are injured, but the greater part of the record is fairly legible. I read it as follows, retaining the faulty spelling of the original —

- 1 *Samvat 1404 varshe Phálguna badí 14 some-swasti*
- 2 *Sri parmma (sic) bhaṭāraka parameswara Sankapa prapa*
- 3 *ti ráje Mahārāja Sī Vīra Rāja Deva vela pawa Sri*
- 4 ** rata saura * * Siromani Mahādevya sati Taladevya
sati ka*
- 5 ** * * * * lkhulam Kurma Pānde*

The main subject of the inscription is luckily in good order, and records that “on the 14th of the waning moon of Phálgun, in the Samvat year 1404 [A. D. 1347], Suomani and Tala, the queens of Mahārāja Sī Vīra Rāja Deva, became Satis, written by Kurma Pānde”

Above the inscription there is the usual representation of an outstretched hand, with the sun and moon in one compartment, below which there is a lingam with the two Sati queens kneeling before it, one on each side. In another compartment the corpse of the Rájá is seen lying at full length on a bedstead, with a female touching his feet, and in the left-hand corner there is a boar. This last figure is, I think, intended to represent the manner of the Rájá's death at a boar hunt. As I failed altogether in obtaining a copy of the genealogy of the Rájas of Uchahara, I am unable to say whether the above Vīra Rájá Deva was one of the Parihār ancestors of the present family.

10 —BILHARI

The old town of Bilhari is situated 10 miles to the west of the Katni railway station, and about half-way between Bharhut and Jabálpur. It was formerly a place of considerable importance, as shown by its ruined temples and fine tanks. Its original name is said to have been Pūphāvati (or Pushpāvati), “the town of flowers,” and it is said to have been founded by Rájá Karn Dāharyā in the time of Bhartṛi, or Bhartṛihari, the brother of Vikramāditya. The name of Pūphāvati is recorded to have lasted down to the tenth century of the Samvat, after which time it was superseded by that of the Bilahari or Bilhari. Nearly all the existing remains, including the fort and the magnificent tank called *Lakshman Sāgar*, are attributed to Rájá Lakshman Sinh.

Parihâr, who is said to have lived about 900 years ago. The only old temple now standing, named Vishnu Varâha, is also assigned to him. It is sad to see the wreck of so many temples, but the work of destruction is not of recent date, as I counted no less than *ninety-five* carved stone pillars in the private houses of the town, and in other places not attached to temples. Some stones are said to have been carried off to build a bridge at Katni, but these were specially stated to have been taken from the old ruined temple (Marh or Math) mentioned in the Central Provinces Gazetteer.

The only remains of any consequence now existing at Bilhari are the great tank of Lakshman Sâgar, the small tank of Dhaboria Tâl, the Vishnu Varâha temple, and the ruined temple known as the palace of Kâm Kandalâ.

The Lakshman Sagar is a fine sheet of clear water, about half a mile long and a quarter of a mile broad. At the time of my visit, in February, it was 15 feet deep, and it is said to rise five or six feet higher during the annual rains, up to the bed of a side channel, cut through the rock to carry off the higher flood. In February the water was two or three feet higher than the floors of the houses in the town. All the well water is said to be bad, and the people universally drink that of the Lakshman Sâgar, in which no one is allowed to wash any clothes, although every one bathes in it.

There was formerly a temple in the middle of the tank, which fell down and disappeared. But in very dry seasons, when the waters are low, the ruins become visible. A bamboo now marks the site of the temple. The tank is full of crocodiles, which chiefly remain at the hill end and come out in the early morning to bask in the sun. The excavation of the tank is always attributed to Lakshman *Sinh* Parihâr, but there is a story of a Râja Lakshman *Sen* who had a very beautiful daughter married to a Gond chief. She bore a son named *Magardhwaj*, who succeeded to the throne, and became the first Gond king of Bilhari. Some of his descendants are now living in the village of *Magardhâ*, 8 miles to the north-west under the hill. Some people, however, say that the mother was carried off by a crocodile. It seems possible, therefore, that *Magardhwaj* may have been the name of the Gond chief, and not of the son. The story, however, clearly points to the transfer of power from the Parihârs to the Gonds.

The Dhabora Tāl is a pretty sheet of water in a valley to the west of the town. On its bank there is a famous figure of a snake, which is worshipped daily by anointments of ghee and red-lead and copious libations of water. The snake called *Nāg Deo* is sculptured on a slab 4 feet 2½ inches high and 20 inches broad. It has a single head, with a broad hood and a long body, which is twisted below in a number of graceful convolutions. There are two lines of writing, but the characters are too much worn to be deciphered.

The Vishnu Varāha temple is said to have been built of the stones of an old temple which were brought from the south Patpara hill about 300 or 400 years ago, either by Lakshman Sen, or by Lakshman Sinh Parihār, or by some one unknown. The period of 300 or 400 years ago will suit the story of Lakshman Sena, whose daughter married the Gond chief, and this late date will account for the fact that the temple has been built of old materials. The only sculpture that requires notice is a gigantic bracket capital lying in front of the door, and which probably formed part of the portico. The pillars of the portico are gone, and the only part of the temple now standing is the sanctum. This grand bracket is five feet four inches across, the diameter of the circular portion of the true capital being exactly three feet, and that of the octagonal shaft one foot ten inches. I found four pillar shafts in the village, each nine feet high and 21 inches in diameter, which I conclude must have belonged to the same temple. There is now no trace of any building on the south Patpara hill, the whole of the stones having been carried off.

The temple known as the "palace of Kām Kandalā" is situated on the *Patpara* Pahār or "tableland hill" to the west of the town. It is now a mere heap of ruins, the great blocks of stone of the upper walls having fallen down in a confused heap on the floor of the building. After cutting some bushes, and pushing aside some of the smaller stones, I found that Kām Kandalā's palace was only a temple of Mahādeva, with the *lingam* and *argha* still standing *in situ* in the ruined sanctum. The entrance of the temple faced the west, which is a very unusual arrangement, except where the building forms one of the subordinate shrines grouped around a large temple. But this could not have been the case with Kām Kandalā's so-called palace, as it is a large building, 54 feet in length by 32 feet in breadth, with pillars in the mahāmandapa, or great hall,

10 feet $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches in height The plan of the temple and a specimen of the pillars are shown in the accompanying plate ¹

About three-quarters of a mile down the hill to the south-west there is a court-yard, 200 feet square, surrounding the ruins of a second temple This is universally known by the name of *hāstal*, or the "elephant stables," where Kām Kandalā is said to have kept her elephants

The legend of Kām Kandalā is as follows In Pūphāvatīnagarī [the old name of Bilharī] reigned Rājā Govind Rao in the Samvat year 919, or A D 862 He had a very handsome Brahman attendant named Mādhavānal, who was specially skilful in singing and dancing, as well as an adept in all arts and sciences, so that all the women fell in love with him The husbands complained to the Rājā, and Mādhavānal was banished from Pūphāvati He retired to Kāmvatī, the capital of Rājā Kām Sen, who was fond of music and singing, and gave the Brahman a place in his *Sabhdā*, or assembly This Rājā had a most beautiful woman named Kām Kandalā, with whom Mādhavānal fell in love, for which he was expelled from Kāmvatī He then went to Ujain, and asked a boon from Rājā Vikramāditya, who was famed for granting every request that was made to him The promise was duly made, and the Brahman claimed to have Kām Kandalā given up to him Vikramāditya accordingly besieged Kāmvatī, and captured Kām Kandalā, who was at once made over to Mādhavānal After some time, with Vikrama's permission, the happy pair retired to Pūphāvati, where Mādhava built a palace for Kām Kandalā on the Patpara hill, which is universally identified with the ruined temple of Mahādeva, just described Many of the stones are said to have been carried away in Samvat 1919 or A D 1862 to build a bridge at Katnī

The names of *Mādhavānal* or "sweet-flame" and *Kām Kandalā*, or "love-gilder," are the well-known appellations of the hero and heroine of the popular love story, called *Mādhavānalakathā* There is a copy of this legend in the library of the Bengal Asiatic Society, which was written as far back as Samvat 1587 or A D 1530 According to the analysis of Babu Rajendra Lāla, it recounts the amours of Mādhavānal and Kām Kandalā, who are said to

¹ See Plate VII

have resided at Pushpâvatî in the neighbourhood of the palace of King Govinda Chandra¹ In the legend he is called simply Govind Rao, and his date is fixed in Samvat 919 or A D 862, if the era of Vikramâditya is meant But it is more likely that the local Samvat of Chedi is intended, which would fix the date in A D 1168 It is, therefore, not at all impossible that Govinda Chandra of Kanauj is the king alluded to We know, however, that the country to the north of Bilhari was still in the possession of the Chedi kings in A D 1158, when the Bharhut inscription was engraved on the rock of Lâl Pahâr, although it is certain that their power was already on the wane But as Govinda Chandra was still reigning up to A D 1168, it is quite possible that he may have conquered the northern districts of Chedi about A D 1160

11 —RÛPNÂTH

Rûpnâth is the name of a famous *lingam* of Siva, which is placed in a cleft of the rock, where the *Bandar Chûa* nala pours over the face of the Kaimur range of hills The descent is made in three falls, each of which has a famous pool, which is also an object of worship The uppermost is named *Râm-kûnd*, the middle one *Lakshman-kûnd*, and the lower one *Sitâ-kûnd* An annual *mêla*, or fair, was formerly held here on the *Siv-râtri*, but this has been discontinued since the time of the mutiny The holy pools, however, are still visited by occasional pilgrims as one of the scenes of the famous wanderings of Râma during his twelve years' exile from Ajudhya

But the site of Rûpnath, and its holy pools, is more interesting to Europeans, from the presence of one of the rock-inscriptions of Asoka A facsimile of this edict, with a translation by Dr G Buhler, has already been published by me with some remarks on the date of 256, which occurs near the end of the inscription² Some exception has been taken to the attribution of this record to Asoka by Mr Rhys Davids But as the critic has accepted the reading of the number of upwards of thirty-two years of the king's reign, his objections may be safely set aside, as Asoka was the *only* one of all the Maurya kings whose reign extended over thirty years

¹ Notices of Sanskrit MSS, Vol II, p 137

² Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, Vol I, containing the inscriptions of Asoka, pp 95—131 —Indian Antiquary 1877—p 156

12 —AMODA

The village of *Amoda* is situated on the crest of the Kaimur range, seven miles to the south-west of Bahuriband, and about 20 miles nearly due west from Sleemanabad. Amongst the Sati monuments in the neighbourhood, there is one with an inscription dated in Samvat 1651, or A D 1594, during the reign of the Gond Rájá, Prem Nārāyan. In this inscription he is called Prem Sâhi. It consists of seven lines of Hindi, as follows —

Sri Ganesa Sri Man Mahārājādhirājā, Prema,
Sâhi ko sâko bhayo Gadha-desa Amodâ sthâ,
ne, Krishna Râya râjya karoti, Samvat 1651,
Samaya Kârttik badî 2 raviwâsare Basant Raya, Dor,
da Siyâle Kshipalithani ke, Thâkur vâko betâ,
Siromani Râut tâko sati bhai Rachit Supangha,
ra Ganesam

"Sri Ganes During the sovereignty of the fortunate king of kings, Sri Prem Sâhi, and under the rule of Krishna Ray of Amodâ, in the county of Garha in the year 1651, on Sunday, the 2nd of the waning moon of Kârtik, the wife of Siromani Râut, son of Basant Ray, Dor Siyâla, Thakur of Kshipalithani, became a Sati. Written by Ganes of Supnaghar."

The village of great Suma, three miles to the south-east, probably represents Supnaghar. The date is clearly Samvat 1651, or A D 1594, which, according to the Gond chronicles, was the second year of his reign. My calculation of the week day makes the 2nd of Kârtik badî a Saturday, instead of a Sunday.

13 —BAHURIBAND

The small town of Bahuriband is situated near the edge of the tableland of the Kaimur range of hills, 32 miles to the north of Jabalpur. The name seems to have been derived from the great number of embanked sheets of water which surround it on all sides, as Bahuriband means simply "many dams." On the accompanying map I have marked by consecutive numbers the positions of forty-five of these dams,¹ without which the whole of the rainfall on this plateau would run off in a few hours, and leave the land utterly dry and barren. In this part the Kaimur range is

¹ See Plate VIII. According to the Kânungo of Bahuriband the actual number of hills is only thirty-nine as those to the west of the *Chanua* ula are not reckoned as belonging to Bahuriband.

not more than 120 feet in height above the plains on the East, but it rises again in a few places before it sinks into the great rent cut by the Sonâr river. The tableland of Bahuriband is intersected by numerous low broad belts of rock which are generally parallel to the outer edge. The people have taken advantage of these broad ridges to form tanks by connecting them together by artificial embankments. Most of the *ghils* have no other name than that of the hamlet to which they belong, but one of them called *Jamuna Tâl* is said to have been made by *Jamuna Sinh*, the brother of Lakshman Sinh Pauhâr.

According to the traditions of the people, there was once a large city on the site of Bahuriband. This belief is amply confirmed by the quantities of broken bricks and pottery which still cover all the high ground. It was not a walled town, and no names of gates have been preserved. I think it not improbable that Bahuriband may be the Tholabana of Ptolemy, as the Greek *Th* might easily be substituted for an *o*. The name might, therefore, have been *Volubana*, which is a very close rendering of Bahuriband. As Ptolemy's Tholabana was one of the towns of the *Poruari* or Pauhârs, this conjectural identification seems not impossible.

The only piece of antiquity of any interest is a naked colossal Jain figure, 12 feet 2 inches high and 3 feet 10 inches broad, which is standing under a pipal tree near the town. It is a stiff, clumsy figure. On the pedestal there is an inscription of seven lines, opening with the date. This is unfortunately injured in the third and fourth figures, but the century is certain. I read the beginning of the record as follows —

Line 1 — Samvat 10 ** Phâlgun badî 9 Some, Sri mad GAYA-KARNA

DEVA vijaya iâ,

Line 2 — jye Râstrakuta Kulotbhava Mihâsamantâdhipatî Sri mad

Golhana Devasya piavarddhamânasya,

Line 3 — Sri mad Golla Prithî* maya

“ In the Samvat 10 **, on Monday, the 9th of the waning moon of Phâlgun, during the victorious reign of the fortunate GAYA KARNA DEVA, and the commander-in-chiefship of the prosperous Golhana Deva, of the exalted race of Râstrakuta, the fortunate Golla Prithî, &c ”

The remaining lines are so imperfect, that I am unable to decipher any continuous portion of them. But the main

fact of the inscription was doubtless to record the erection of the statue. At the same time, we learn that the country belonged to the Râshtrakuta chief Golhana Deva as a tributary under the great Kulachuri king Gaya Karna Deva as suzerain. The inscription is valuable on another account, as proving that the Samvat used in other Kulachuri inscriptions must be dated from a much later period than the initial-point of the Vikramâditya era. The date in the present inscription of Gaya Karna Deva is clearly one thousand odd, while the Bhera Ghât inscription of his son Nara Sinha Deva is dated in 907, and the Bhurhut inscription of the same king in 909, his own inscription from Tewar being dated in Samvat 902.

We know also that Gaya Karna's father, Yasa Karna, must have been living within 30 years of A D 1120, so that Gaya Karna himself was no doubt reigning in that year. According to my reckoning of the genealogy of the Kulachuri dynasty, the reign of Gaya Karna must have extended from about A D 1100 to 1125. The date in this Bahuriband inscription must, therefore, be in the Saka era, which would range from 1022 to 1047.

14 --TIGOWA

At the small village of Tigowa, two miles to the north of Bahuriband, there is a low rectangular mound, about 250 feet long by 120 feet broad, which is entirely covered with large blocks of cut-stone, the ruins of many temples. Only one temple is now standing. Originally it was a small single room, with an open portico in front, supported on four pillars, of the same type as those of the Gupta temples at Udayagiri and Eran.

About 60 feet to the north-east there is part of an entrance door of a second Gupta temple of a much larger size. But, besides these two Gupta shrines, I traced the foundations of no less than thirty-six other temples, the largest of which was only 15 feet, while many of the smaller ones were but 6, and even 4 feet square¹. The whole of these had been utterly destroyed by a railway contractor, who collected all the squared stones in a heap together, ready to be carted off to the neighbouring railway. Two hundred carts

¹ See the map of Tigowa in Plate IX

are said to have been brought to the foot of the hill by this rapacious spoiler, when the removal of the stones was peremptorily stopped by an order from the Deputy Commissioner of Jabalpur, to whom the people had sent a petition. His name, which is still well remembered, was Walker. Wherever I go, I hear of the sordid rapacity of some of these railway contractors. By one of them, named Pratt, the great temple at Bilhari is said to have been despoiled, and by another a fine temple at Tewar was completely removed. To the railway contractor the finest temple is only a heap of ready squared stones, and

The temple of Jerusalem,
A ready quarry is to him,
And it is nothing more

Tigowa is only a small village, but, according to tradition, it was once a large town, with a fort named Jhanjhangarh. The village itself stands on a rocky eminence, and the fields around are strewn with broken bricks. The name means simply the "three villages," the other two being the neighbouring hamlets of Amgowa and Deori. Originally they are said to have formed a suburb of Bahuriband.

All the smaller temples of 4 to 6 feet would appear to have been built with three sides only, the fourth being open to the east. Those of the next size, 7 to 10 feet, had doorways with two pilasters, while those of the largest size, 12 to 15 feet, had porticoes supported on four pillars. The whole of these temples had spire roofs, covered with the usual pinnacle of the *amalaka* fruit. They were all Brahmanical, not a single fragment of Buddhist or Jain sculpture having been found amongst the ruins.

The oldest temple at Tigowa is a small stone building, 12 feet 9 inches square, covered with a flat roof. In front there is a portico, supported on four pillars. The style is similar to that of the cave temples of Udayagiri, and of the structural temples at Eran, which, from their inscriptions, we know to belong to the Gupta period. I have therefore ventured to give the name of the "*Gupta style*" to all the temples of this class, although it is probable that the earliest specimen of this kind of temple belongs to a period shortly preceding the Gupta rule. The chief characteristic features of Gupta temples are —

- (1) Flat roofs, without spires of any kind, as in the cave temples

- (2) Prolongation of the head of the doorway beyond the jambs, as in Egyptian temples
- (3) Statues of the rivers Ganges and Jumna guarding the entrance door
- (4) Pillars, with massive square capitals, ornamented with two lions back to back, with a tree between them
- (5) Bosses on the capitals and friezes of a very peculiar form like Buddhist stûpas, or beehives, with projecting horns
- (6) Continuation of the architrave of the portico as a moulding all round the building
- (7) Deviation in plan from the cardinal points

The use of flat roofs would seem to show that these buildings must belong to the very earliest period of structural architecture. When the architect, whose work had hitherto been confined to the erection of porticoes in front of caves, was first called upon to build the temple itself as well as the portico, he naturally copied this only prototype, and thus reproduced in a structural form the exact facsimile of a rock-hewn cave. The roof is not a mere interior ceiling, but is finished on the top, with channels and spouts for the discharge of rain water, and where more than one slab is used to form the roof, the two adjoining edges are raised and covered by a long stone, which is grooved to fit exactly over the joint.

The prolongation of the lintel of the entrance door far beyond the jambs on each side is common to all the temples of this class down to the latest period. It is seen also in all the entrances to the caves of Udayagiri, and in the still earlier examples of the Nâsik caves. This peculiarity was no doubt derived from the original door-frame of wood, in which the prolongation of the lintel is a matter of necessity, and the fact of its being a copy serves to show that, in India as elsewhere, the costly stone architecture was preceded by a more primitive construction of wood.

Intimately connected with this curious peculiarity of construction are the two figures of the rivers Ganges and Jumna, which are invariably placed in the outer angles of the lintel and jambs. The figure of the Ganges is known by her attendant crocodile on which she stands, and that of the Jumna by her attendant tortoise, on which she also stands. Each goddess carries a water vessel.

The square capitals of the pillars are remarkable for their massiveness, the side of the capital being just double that of the shaft. The couchant lions, with the tree between them, are the direct descendants of the couchant animals on the capitals of the Asoka architecture, as seen in the sculptures of Bodhi Gaya and Bhaihuti. And these, again, were the offspring of the Achæmenian capitals of Persepolis and Susa. In these earlier examples, however, the couchant animals cross each other, and the floral symbol between them takes a conventional form. But the greater breadth of the Gupta capitals necessitated the separation of the two animals, while the floral symbol became the representative of a real tree.

The stûpa-shaped bosses on the capitals of the pillars, on the entablature of the main building, and over the doorway, are very striking features from the boldness of their projection, and still more so from their being the only ornament used on the architraves of all the earlier examples. Similar projecting bosses are found in most Hindu temples down to a comparatively later date, but they are much more elaborate in their form, and are always accompanied with other ornaments. The bosses over the doors and on the entablatures are usually placed on square projecting blocks, which seem to me to represent the ends of the beams of the original wooden prototype. They, therefore, correspond exactly with the triglyphs of Greek architecture.

The continuation of the architrave of the portico pillars all round the building, as a lower cornice or moulding, is found in all the examples of the Gupta style, from the earliest specimen at Sanchi to the latest yet discovered at Tigowa and Pithavira.

The last marked peculiarity of the Gupta temples is the frequent deviation in plan from the cardinal points. Out of eight examples, I find that five have an average deviation of 13° from the true meridian. As the amount of variation, according to my notes, is limited to 5° in the two extreme cases, I think it *possible* that it may have been an intentional deviation of one *nakshatra*, or lunar mansion amounting to $13^{\circ} 20'$. But this is a mere guess, and the near agreement in the amount may be due simply to the small number of examples which have yet been found.

As the temple at Tigowa possesses every one of the peculiarities just described, it may be taken as a very fine

example of the Gupta style of architecture. It is true there is no inscription to vouch for this assignment, but as the cave temples at Udayagiri, and the structural temples at Eran and Bilsar, all of which are of the same style, possess several inscriptions of the Gupta dynasty, I do not hesitate for a moment in ascribing the Tigowa example to the same period.

Inside, the Tigowa temple consists of a single room 8 feet by $7\frac{1}{2}$, in which is enshrined a statue of the Narsinh avatâr of Vishnu. Outside, the body of the temple is 12 feet square, with a portico in front of the entrance, supported on four pillars. The middle intercolumniation is 2 feet 9 inches, but the two side ones are only 2 feet 6 inches. As this difference is also found in other Gupta temples at Sâncî, Udayagiri, and Eran, it may be looked upon as one of the minor marks of the Gupta style.¹

The four pillars are exactly alike, with the single exception of the tree, which is placed between the lions on the upper part of the capital. This varies on the different faces of the capitals, being on one face a mango tree, on another a palm tree, and on the others some conventional or unrecognized tree. The lions' heads at the corners do duty for two bodies on two adjacent faces, as in most of the Assyrian sculptures. On each face of the lower part of the capital there are two of the peculiar bosses or stûpa-shaped ornaments, which I have already described as forming one of the peculiar marks of the Gupta architecture. Each boss has a curved projecting horn on each side, and a circular panel in the middle, filled with a head, either of a man or of a lion.

The lower part, for about three-eighths of its height, is square and quite plain, then comes a highly ornamented octagonal portion, followed by another of sixteen sides, above which it becomes circular. This portion of the shaft appears to me to form one of the most characteristic features of the Gupta pillars. In the oldest example at Sâncî we see the simple reeded-bell capital of the Asoka pillars. But in all the later specimens at Udayagiri, Eran and Tigowa the bell has become fluted, and its lower part, or mouth, has been quite separated from the upper swell by a different style of ornamentation. From each corner, also, of the square portion of the upper shaft, a small foliated turn-over hangs

¹ See plates X and XI, for a plan and view of this temple

gracefully down. In this arrangement I see the original of the famous *kumbha*, or water-vessel, which forms the principal features of all Hindu pillars down to the present day. In a single example in one of the Udayagiri caves a rampant animal takes the place of the turn-over. The effect is not unpleasing, although the upward spring of the animal is in direct opposition to the downward trail of the drooping turn-over.

The entrance door is the only part of the body of the building which is ornamented. Immediately over the lower door-frame there is a line of 7 square bosses, which represent the ends of the beams of an original wooden portico. On each side of the door there is a pilaster of the same form as the pillars of the portico. These pilasters rise to only two-thirds of the height of the doorway, and form supports for the two figures of the Ganges and Jumna. The Ganges is represented standing on a crocodile and plucking a fruit from a custard-apple tree, while the Jumna is standing on a tortoise and plucking a fruit from a mango tree. Above these figures is the main architrave of the doorway, over which there is a line of thirteen square bosses, immediately over which rest the great roofing slates. There can be no doubt, therefore, that these square projecting bosses represent the ends of the beams of the original wooden prototype. In this particular temple these bosses are quite plain, but I believe that they are only unfinished, as in a second and larger example of Gupta doorway at Tigowa all the square bosses are ornamented with the stûpa-like ornament which has already been described.

On one of the pillars of the portico there is a short inscription of three lines, in characters which, in my opinion, are not later than the 7th or 8th century. I read them as follows —

Sitabhadra sthanî Sîmâ-
nya Bhattarputtra Uma Devah
Kannakubja Sanîpah

These appear to me to record the simple fact that "Sâmânya Bhatta's son, Uma Deva of Kanyakubja, paid his devotions [*sam*] at the temple of Sitabhadra." This inscription is only a pilgrim's record of his visit at some date subsequent to the building of the temple, but there is nothing to show how much later it may be. I would refer the inscription to the 8th century, about which time the portico of the temple

was turned into a *mandapa*, or hall, by closing the side openings with sculptured slabs, while another portico of quite a different style was added to the front. These additions are shown in the plan without any shading¹. None of the later pillars are forthcoming, but the great difference of style between the original temple and the new portico may be seen in their respective basements, which have nothing in common. The sculptures of the late addition are about half Saiva and half Vaishnava. On the upper panel of a slab on the left there is the skeleton goddess, attended by skeleton figures, and in the lower compartment there is Vishnu Nârâyana reposing on the serpent Ananta. On the opposite slab to the right there is another figure of Kâli, with the Varâha avatâr of Vishnu below. Portions of the old pilasters and pillars have been cut away to receive these slabs. The original temple undoubtedly belongs to the Gupta period, and cannot, therefore, be later than the fifth century A. D., but it is more probably as old as the third century.

At a short distance to the north of this old temple there stands an ornamented stone doorway, which is the only portion now remaining of a still larger temple of the Gupta period. The breadth of the doorway of the existing temple is 2 feet 6 inches, while that of this solitary ruin is 3 feet 10 inches. If these proportions were observed in the other parts of the building, the body of this ruined temple would have been not less than $19\frac{1}{2}$ feet square, which is rather more than that of the magnificent temple at Deogarh. The latter, however, has a spired roof, but the Narsinh temple at Eran, which is 16 feet square, had a flat roof, and there would be no difficulty in a sandstone country in procuring thick roofing slabs of even greater length than 20 feet. The style of ornamentation of this doorway was the same as that of the doorway of the standing temple. There were the same seven square bosses immediately over the door, and above them a second row, which would have supported the large roofing slabs. The lower bosses are ornamented with men's and lions' heads alternately, but the upper ones are all blank. My search for other portions of this temple was fruitless. It was no doubt ruined long ago, as its doorway now forms an entrance to the court-yard of a shapeless modern temple.

15 —MAJHOLI

The village of Majholi lies on the old road leading from Tewar (Tripura), the old capital of Chedi, to Bilhaur, being 22 miles to the north of the former, and 30 miles to the south-west of the latter. It once possessed a famous temple of Vishnu, of which nothing now remains but a large statue of the *Varāha* or boar incarnation of Vishnu. The statue is almost hidden in the deep darkness of a modern temple, which has been built out of the ruins of the old fane, with numerous pieces of sculpture inserted in the wall. Close by I found one of the ceiling slabs of the old temple, with its deeply cut squares and circles of ornamental moulding. This has been turned into a *chakki*, or mill-stone, for grinding lime. Nothing is known about the history of the temple—not even its name. Amongst the broken sculptures in the neighbourhood I found a Hara-Gauri, or Siva and his wife, seated, with a standing figure of Siva and a squatted Jain statue, naked as usual. These last figures show that Majholi must also have possessed a shrine of Siva and a Jain temple, as well as a shrine of Vishnu as the *Varāha* avatar.

16 —SINGORGARH

The great ruined fortress of Singorgarh commands the Jabera pass leading through the hills between Jabalpur and Damoh and Saugor. It is 35 miles to the north-west of Jabalpur, and 32 miles to the south-east of Damoh. The road enters the hills at Katangi, and proceeds north for 9 miles to the *Kan* river near Sangrampur, from whence it turns to the west for 9 miles to Jabera, passing immediately under the hill of Singorgarh. The *Kan* river breaks through the Kaimur range to the eastward of Sangrampur by a deep rent which it has cut for itself, and which is commonly known by the name of *kattaa*, or “the cut.” To the west of Singorgarh there was formerly a great lake, which extended as far as Bansipur, a distance of 7 miles, with a width of more than 5 miles from north to south, from Bai-Sagan to Karanpur. Both the fort and the lake are attributed to Rāja Ben Basar. The embankment was judiciously thrown across a very narrow gorge, just below the village of Bansipur, which is said to have received its name from the Rāja’s fishing rod [*bānsi*], as he was fond of fishing in the deep water under the embankment. No less than

twenty-eight villages were included within the limits of the lake

The name of Rájá Ben is as widely known in Northern India as that of Rāmā or Vikramāditya. But he is always called Rájá Ben Chakravartti, whereas at Jabeia he is only known as Rájá Ben Basor. The title of Basor, or Bansor, is a well-known contraction of bānsphor, or bamboo-splitter, which is the name given to all basket-makers. But the people of Singorgarh are not contented with such a lowly origin for the maker of their great fort and lake. They have invented a curious story to account for the name of Basor. According to the legend, the Rájá every year used to make a fan of bamboo, which possessed such miraculous powers that, whenever he cut a piece of it, a portion of his enemy's army was at once cut to pieces, or, as one of my informants explained, the army fell to pieces and dispersed.

I look upon this legend as only an idle attempt to account for the name of Basor. The embankment is not so large that it could not have been made by a wealthy dealer in bamboos, and to him I would attribute the construction of the lake. But the fort is not likely to have been built by any private person. It is true that the *old fort* is not of great size, but its name would appear to have been derived from a certain Gaj Singh Pratihār, according to an inscription of 8 lines which is recorded on a square stone pillar, 10½ feet high, which still stands on the top of the hill to the south-east of the fort. In this inscription the hill is called *Gaja-Singhadurggye*, from which it seems probable that the fort must have been called *Gaja-Singha durga garh*, or the "hill-fortress of Gaj Singh." By dropping the first syllable, and eliding the *d* of *durg*, the name would have become simply *Singorgarh*, as it is written at present. The monolith is called *kirtti-stambha*, or the "pillar of fame." It was set up in the Samvat year 1364, or A. D. 1307, on the *vyaya dasame*, that is, on the tenth day, or *dasahra*, of the great festival, when Rāma overthrew Rāwan. As the lake was called Vijaya-Sāgar, or Bijay-[^]gar, I think it probable that it was so named on the same occasion of the *vyaya dasame*. The village of Bai-Sāgar, on the northern bank of the lake, seems to preserve the name of the Bijay-Sāgar in a curtailed form.

About half a mile beyond this pillar there is a second monolith, 13 feet high, with a short inscription of two lines,

apparently without date This monolith is also called a *kîrtti-stambha*, or pillar of fame I read it as follows —

*Nikumbha Râwân Suta Ratanasya Sîr
Mela sâhitasya Kîrtti Stambho yasmasi (?) 66*

As Nikumbha was the name of Râwan's brother, it is possible that this pillar represents the site of the fort of Râwan, (generally known as Lanka, or Ceylon), while the other pillar would represent the position of Râma's army

According to Sir William Sleeman, the fort of Singorgarh was built by Râjâ Belo, one of the Chandel Râjâs of Mahoba¹ But none of my informants had ever heard of Râjâ Belo Chandel, and I have very grave doubts as to the Chandel rule having ever extended so far to the south The whole of this part of the country would appear to have belonged to the Parihârs or Pratihârs as we find was actually the case in A D 1307, when these monoliths were erected But the Pratihârs were tributary to the great Kulachuri Râjas of Chêûi, whose rule certainly extended as far northward as Bharhut and Kalanjai The latter place was recovered by the Chandels in the 11th century, but the Kulachuris still held the country about Bharhut in the 12th century At the close of the 15th century the districts to the north of the Nabada had fallen into the hands of Sangrâm Sâh, the Gond Râjâ of Garha Mandala His son Dalpat Sâh, about A D 1540, removed the seat of government from Garha to Singorgarh, which he enlarged and strengthened In 1545 he married the beautiful Chandel princess Durgavati, and in 1549 he died, leaving an infant son, Bir Nârâyan, under the regency of his widowed queen For fourteen years she governed the country with singular skill and prudence, when the report of her accumulated wealth excited the cupidity of Âsaf Khân, the Muhammadan governor of Kanâ Having obtained the consent of Akbar, this rapacious chief started on his unhallowed expedition, without even the shadow of a pretext But the country was said to be rich, and it was presumably defenceless, as its ruler was a woman There would consequently be much plunder, but little risk The account of this unprovoked attack may best be left to the pens of the Muhammadan historians

According to the *Tarikh-i-Alfi*, the invasion took place in the year 968 A. H., or A. D. 1560,¹ when—

“*Khvâja Abdul Majîd*, who had received the title of *Âsaf Khan*, was appointed Governor of *Karâ*, and in that province he rendered good service. One of his services was the conquest of *Garha*, a territory abounding in hills and jungles, which had never been conquered by any ruler of *Hind* since the rise of the faith of *Islâm*. At this time it was governed by a woman called *Râni*, and all the dogs of that country were very faithful and devoted to her. *Âsaf Khan* had frequently sent emissaries into her country on various pretexts, and when he had learnt all the circumstances and peculiarities of the country, and the position and treasures of the *Râni*, he levied an army to conquer the country. The *Râni* came forth to battle with nearly 500 elephants and 20,000 horses. The armies met, and both did their best. An arrow struck the *Râni*, who was in front of her horsemen, and when that noble woman saw that she must be taken prisoner, she seized a dagger from her elephant-driver, and plunged it into her stomach, and so died. *Âsaf Khan* gained the victory, and stopped his advance at the *tâluk* of *Chaurâgarh*, where the treasures of the ruler of *Garha* were kept. The son of the *Râni* shut himself up in the fort, but it was taken the same day, and the youth was trampled to death by horses. So much plunder in jewels, gold, silver, and other things were taken, that it was impossible to compute the tenth part of it. Out of all the plunder, *Âsaf Khân* sent fifteen elephants to *Court*, and retained all the rest for himself.”

The author of the *Tabakât-i-Akbari* places the invasion in A. H. 971 or A. D. 1563, a date which is confirmed by the *Akbar-nâma*, and which also agrees exactly with the genealogies of the *Gond Rajas*.²

“The country of *Garhi-Katanga* was near to *Âsaf Khân*, and he formed the design of subduing it. The chief place of that country is *Chaurâgarh*. It is an extensive country containing seventy thousands (*haftâd hazâr*) flourishing villages. Its ruler was at that time a woman named *Durgâvati*, who was very beautiful. When *Âsaf Khân* heard the condition of this country, he thought the conquest of it would be an easy matter, so he marched against it with fifty thousand horse and foot. The *Râni* collected all her forces, and prepared to oppose the invader with 700 elephants, 20,000 horsemen, and infantry innumerable. A battle followed, in which both sides fought obstinately, but by the will of fate the *Râni* was struck by an arrow, and fearing lest she should fall alive into the hands of the enemy, she made her elephant-driver kill her with a dagger. After the victory, *Âsaf Khân* marched against *Chaurâgarh*. The son of the *Râni*, who was in the fort, came forth to meet him, but he was killed, and the fort was captured, and all its treasures fell into the hands of the conquerors. *Âsaf Khân*,

¹ Sir H. Elliot's *Muhammadian Historians of India*, V, 169 by Professor Dowson
Ibid, vol V pp 288-89

after he had achieved this victory and acquired so much treasure, returned, greatly elated, to Karâ, and took possession of his government."

The account of Ferishta is much the same, but he adds some particulars regarding the plunder which are omitted by the other authorities —¹

"When Âsaf Khân was raised to the rank of a noble of five thousand horse, and procured the government of Karâ Mânîkpur, he obtained permission of the king to subdue a country called Garhâ, at that time governed by a Râni (a Hindu queen), whose name was Durgâvati, as celebrated for her beauty as for her good sense. Âsaf Khân Hirvi heard of the riches of this country, and visited it with constant depredations, till at length he marched with a force of between five and six thousand cavalry and infantry to Garhâ. The queen opposed him with an army of fifteen hundred elephants and eight thousand horse and foot. Under these circumstances, a sanguinary battle took place, in which the queen, who was on an elephant, having received an arrow in her eye, was unable to give orders, but apprehending the disgrace of being taken prisoner, she snatched a dagger out of the girdle of the elephant-driver, and stabbed herself. Her country fell into the hands of Âsaf Khân Hirvi. Âsaf Khân next proceeded to Chauragah, and took it by storm, and the son of the Râni or queen, who was but an infant, was trodden to death in the confusion. Independently of the jewels, the images of gold and silver and other valuables, no fewer than a hundred jars of gold coins of the reign of Alâ-ud-din Khiljî also fell into the hands of the conqueror. Of all this booty, Âsaf Khân presented to the king only a small part, and of a thousand elephants which he took, he sent only three hundred indifferent animals to the king, and none of the jewels."

The scene of the battle between the rapacious Muhammadan soldier and the heroic Hindu queen is still pointed out by the people in the wide open plain about Sangrâmpur, four miles to the east of Singoigarh. But, according to tradition, it was not there that Durgâvati was wounded, but in a second fight, which took place while retreating towards Garhâ. The details of this invasion, which have been so fondly preserved by the people, have been collected by Sir William Sleeman, whose account I will quote —²

"Âsaf Khân, the imperial viceroy at Karâ Mânîkpur on the Ganges, invited by the prospect of appropriating so fine a country and so much wealth as she was reputed to possess, invaded her dominions in the year 1564, at the head of six thousand cavalry and twelve thousand well disciplined infantry, with a train of artillery

"He was met by the queen regent, at the head of her troops, near the fort of Singoigarh, and an action took place, in which she was defeated. Unwilling to stand a siege, she retired after the action upon Garhâ, and finding herself closely pressed by the enemy, she continued her retreat among the hills towards Mandala, and took a very favourable position in a narrow defile, about 12 miles east of Garhâ. Āsāf's artillery could not keep pace with him in the pursuit, and on attempting the pass without it, he was repulsed with great loss. The attack was renewed the next day, when the artillery had come up. The queen advanced herself on an elephant to the entrance of the pass, and was bravely supported by her troops in her attempt to defend it, but the enemy had brought up his artillery, which, opening upon her followers in the narrow defile, made great havoc among them, and compelled them to give way. She received a wound from an arrow in the eye, and her only son, then about eighteen years of age, was severely wounded and taken to the rear. Durgāvati, in attempting to wrench the arrow from her eye, broke it, and left the barb in the wound, but notwithstanding the agony she suffered, she still refused to retire, knowing that all her hopes rested on her being able to keep her position in the defile till her troops could recover from the shock of the first discharges of artillery, and the supposed death of the young prince. For by one of those extraordinary coincidences of circumstances, which are by the vulgar taken for miracles, the river in the rear of her position, which had during the night been nearly dry, began to rise the moment the action commenced, and, when she received her wound, was reported unfordable. She saw that her troops had no alternative but to force back the enemy through the pass, or perish, since it would be almost impossible for any of them to escape over this mountain torrent, under the mouths of their cannon, and consequently, that her plan of retreat upon Mandala was entirely frustrated by this unhappy accident of the unseasonable rise of the river.

"Her elephant driver repeatedly urged her in vain to allow him to attempt the ford. 'No,' replied the queen, 'I will either die here, or force the enemy back.' At this moment she received an arrow in the neck, and seeing her troops give way, and the enemy closing around, she snatched a dagger from the driver and plunged it in her own bosom.

"She was interred at the place where she fell, and on her tomb to this day the passing stranger thinks it necessary to place, as a votive offering, one of the fairest he can find of those beautiful specimens of white crystal, in which the hills in this quarter abound. Two rocks lie by her side, which are supposed by the people to be her drums, converted into stone, and strange stories are told of their being still occasionally heard to sound in the stillness of the night by the people of the nearest villages. Manifest signs of the carnage of that day are exhibited in the rude tombs, which cover all the ground from that of the queen all the way back to the bed of the river, whose unseasonable rise prevented her retreat upon the garrison of Mandala.

"Her son had been taken off the field, and was, unperceived by the enemy, conveyed back to the palace at Chauragah, to which Āsāf returned immediately after his victory, and laid siege. The young prince was killed in the siege, and the women set fire to the place, under

the apprehension of suffering dishonour if they fell alive into the hands of the enemy. Two females are said to have escaped—the sister of the queen, and a young princess who had been betrothed to the young prince Bir Nârâyan, and these two are said to have been sent to the Emperor Akbar.

To Durgâvatî is attributed the construction of the *Râni Tâl*, one mile to the east of Gairhâ, and of the second Râm Tâl at the foot of the Kaimur range of hills, where the Kan river breaks through the rocks, 5 miles to the east of Sangrâmpur.

It is said that Durgâvatî, on her retreat from Gairhâ, threw the *pâras*, or philosopher's stone, into the Râni Tâl, where it is still supposed to be. A characteristic story is told of this queen, whose memory is so affectionately cherished by the people, that everything relating to her is devoutly believed. The story runs that the King of Delhi, when passing by Singorgarh, saw a lamp burning on the top of the fort. He asked whose palace it was, and on being told that it was the palace of a *Râni*, he sent her a golden "cotton gin" [*charkha*], as an appropriate present. In return, Durgâvatî sent him a *pinjan*, or "cotton bow," for cleaning or teasing cotton wool. Thus well-deserved retributed so enraged the king, that he marched at once with his whole army to fight the queen.

17 —TEWAR OR TRIPURA

Tewar or *Triputra* was the capital of the *Kulachuri* Râjâs of Chedi. In the Hama Kosa, Tripura is also called *Chedinagari*.¹ Amongst the Brahmans, it is famous as the site of the defeat of the demon Tripura by Siva.² There can be no doubt, therefore, that the place is of great antiquity, although it is probable that it was not the most ancient capital of the celebrated Chedi-des. At a very early period, the whole of the country lying along the upper course of the Narbada would appear to have been occupied by the *Muhaya* branch of the Yâdavas. In the Mahâbhârata several different persons are mentioned as kings of Chedi, but as nothing is said about their relationship, they most probably belonged

¹ Professor Hall. *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, VI. p. 520.

² Inscription from Kungodt, translated by Colebrooke, *Asiatic Researches*, II, 240. "I prostrate myself before Sambhu whose unquenchable blaze consumed the magnificent Tripura."

to different divisions of the country. It would seem, therefore, that, some time before the composition of the *Mahābhārata*, the land of Chedi had already been divided into two or more independent States, of which one belonged to Rājā Sisupāla, whose capital is not mentioned, and another to the father of Chitrangadā, whose capital was Manipura. The capital of Chedi, in the time of Rājā Vasu, is said to have been situated on the Suktimatī river, which, according to the *Purānas*, has its rise in the Riksha range of hills, along with the Tons and the Narbada. In later times we know that there were two great Haihaya States in Central India, *viz*, the kingdom of Mahā Kosala, with Manipur for its capital, and the kingdom of Chedi proper, with Tripura for its capital. But as the Haihayas of Kosala date their inscriptions in the Chedi or Kulachuri Samvat by name, we have an additional proof that their country was once included within the limits of the ancient Chedi. I incline, therefore, to look upon Manipur (to the north of Ratanpur) as the original capital of Chedi-des, and to identify the *Suktimatī* river with the *Sakri*, which rises in the hills of the Kāwāda State to the west of Lāphā.

The derivation of the name of *Chedi* is uncertain, but, according to one of my informants, the country was originally called *Chitrāngadī-desā*, after *Chitrāngadā*, the daughter of the Rājā of Manipur. In process of time this long name was gradually shortened to *Changedī-desā* and Chedi-desa.¹ In all the inscriptions hitherto found the name is simply *Chedi*, but I think it highly probable that the old form of the name may be preserved in the *Sageda metropolis* of Ptolemy, and in the *Chi-ke-da* of the Chinese pilgrim Hwen-Thsang. The learned translator of the pilgrim's travels transcribes the Chinese syllables as *Tchi-ki-to*, and reads them doubtfully as *Tchikdha*.² On referring to the original Chinese characters, I find that the value of the middle syllable may be either *ki* or *ke*, as it is used by the pilgrim in the words *kokila*, *avalokitesvara*, *keyura*, and *harikesara*.³ I find also that the third syllable has the power of *da* in *dakshina*. The whole name may, therefore, be transcribed as *Chi-ke-da*, and in this form it offers such a remarkable similarity to the

¹ So also by dropping *r* and *t* *Mrittikāvatī* became *Makauti*.

² Julien's *Hwen Thsang* III p 168 and p 531 Index.

³ Julien's "Méthode pour déchiffrer et transcrire les noms Samscrits qui se rencontrent dans les livres Chinois" p 214.

Sageda of Ptolemy, as to suggest their absolute identity. Both places were situated in Central India, somewhere in the neighbourhood of the Narbada river.

Professor Hall was the first to suggest the possible identity of *Chikito* and *Chedi*.¹ There are no doubt several difficulties in the way, but some of them are certainly due to Hwen-Thsang's text. The first is the bearing and distance from Ujain, which he makes north-east 1,000 *li*, or 167 miles. Now, this direction must be wrong, if *Chikito* was in Southern India, as a north-east bearing would place it in the neighbourhood of Kulhâras, just 90 miles to the south of Gwalior, which cannot possibly be reckoned as belonging to South India. By making the bearing east, instead of north-east, the position of *Chikito* would accord fairly enough with that of Chetiya, or Sânci, near the great old city of Benâgar, which I found to be just 142 miles from Ujain, measured by perambulator. But the subsequent bearing and distance of 150 miles north to Maheswarapura would land us in the neighbourhood of Nâr-wai, with which it seems impossible to identify it. Another difficulty is that in the life of Hwen-Thsang, when there is no mention of *Chikito*, Maheswarapura is said to be 900 *li*, or 150 miles, to the north-east of Ujain, and as it is stated to be in Central India, the northerly bearing is indispensable. Seronj, to the north-east of Bhilsa, would suit these conditions almost exactly. And from thence to Chedi the distance corresponds very well with 1,000 *li*, or 167 miles, but the bearing is south-east. A southerly direction, however, is absolutely required, as *Chikito* is said to be in Southern India. This identification seems to me to be the most probable under all the conditions.

The other identification, however, which I have proposed of Ptolemy's *Sageda metropolis* with *Chedi*, appears to me to be almost certain. In the first place, *Sageda* is the capital of the *Adisathri*, which I take to be a Greek rendering of *Haya-kshetrâ*, or the country of the *Hayas* or *Haihayas*. It adjoins the country of the *Bettigi*, whom I would identify with the people of *Vâkâtaka*, whose capital was Bhândak. One of the towns in their country, situated near the upper course of the Sôn, is named *Balantipurgon* or *Balampurgon*. This I take to be the famous fort of *Bândogarh*, which we know formed part of the Chedi dominions. To the north-east

¹ Journal of American Oriental Society VI p 521

was *Panassa*, which most probably preserves the name of some town on the Parnâsa or Banâs river—a tributary which joins the Sôn to the north-east of Bândogarh. To the north of the Adisathri, Ptolemy places the Poruari, or Parihârs, in their towns named Tholobana, Bṛidâma, and Malaṭa. The first I would identify with Boriban (Bahuriband), by reading Oolobana or Volobana. The second must be *Bilhari*, and the last may be *Lameta*, which gives its name to the ghât on the Naibada opposite Tewar, and may thus stand for Tripura itself. All these identifications hold so well together, and mutually support each other, that I have little doubt of their correctness.

Of the tribal name of Kulachuri, or Kalachuri as it is also written, I am not able to offer any satisfactory derivation. Tod quotes the name of Kalcharak, or Kurchara, as that of one of the 36 royal races mentioned by the bard Chand. Kalcharak was also the form of the name preserved in the books of Mûkji, the famous bard of the Khichi Chauhâns. In my Ratanpur inscription, Jâjalla, the “mighty sovereign of Chedi,” is said to have assumed the title of “*Lord of the Suras*,” but whether such a form as Kulasura (Kulachuri) would be permissible, is perhaps doubtful. This title would seem to have been confined to the Tripuri branch of the Haihayas and its ramifications, while the Manipur kings, after the transfer of their capital to Ratanpur, were known as the Ratnavali Haihayas.

The present village of Tewar is a small place, six miles to the west of Jabalpur, and on the south side of the Bombay road. Many of the inhabitants are stone-cutters, whose chief, perhaps only, quarries are in the ruins of the old city of Karanbel and its temples. To the east of the village there is a fine large tank named Bâl Sâgar. Its embankment is formed of square blocks of granite, cramped with iron. Near the middle of the tank there is a small island, with a whitewashed modern temple.

At the west end of the village, under a large tree, are collected together a great number of sculptures, all more or less broken, but many of them still in very good preservation otherwise. Every one of them is said to have been brought from the site of the old city of Karanbel, about half a mile to the south-west of the village of Tewar.

The most perfect specimen is a Buddhist sculpture of *Vajrapāni*, who is represented seated under a canopy with his hands in front of his breast, with the fingers arranged in the posture of teaching. On the right and left are figures with *chauris* and garlands, and two kneeling figures, that to the left holding 2 *vajras* or thunderbolts, and the other to the right with his hands joined in adoration. On the pedestal is inscribed the Buddhist creed of "*Ye dharma hetu*," &c, in large letters, which is followed by a longer inscription beginning with the name of *Vajrapāni*.

A long stone, broken at one end, presents a number of figures, grouped about a man, who is lying on a bed. His right knee is raised, and grasped by his left hand, while his right hand rests on his head. To the right, a female is kneeling at his head, and to the left, a male attendant is standing, with joined hands. Beyond him, there are two females, seated on *morhas*. Below these is an inscription of two lines, but the letters are much worn, and the reading is doubtful. The sleeping figure is known as *Trīpura Devi*, in spite of its masculine appearance.

A small statue of a four-armed female, with a crocodile symbol, is worshipped as *Narmada mai*, or "Mother Narmada", but it is more probably a figure of Ganga from one of the old temples.

There are many other sculptures, which need not be described further than that they belong principally to the worship of Vishnu and Siva. Of the latter, there is a statue, $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet in height, with 3 heads and 12 arms. Of the former, there is a Krishna, playing the flute and attended by several naked females. There are also many obscene sculptures, like those which disgrace the fine temples at Khajurâho.

Lastly, there are three naked Jain statues of the Digambari sect: one of Adinâth, seated with 2 naked attendants and a bull on the pedestal, and 2 standing figures, $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet high, which once formed part of a pillar.

About half a mile to the south-east of the village are the ruins of the old city of *Trīpura*, now known as *Karanbel*. The following account of the remains is taken from Mr Beglar's report, and it will be useful to compare it with Colonel Yule's account, which was written many years earlier.¹

"Tradition speaks loudly of the immense ruins of Karanbel, but the railway, with its insatiable capacity of absorbing to itself all workable stone

¹ See Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal 1861 vol XXX, p 211

within its influence, has long since so reduced the ruins, that no remains are now supposed to have been left of any interest. I found, however, at the foot of a low, long hill, known as *Kari-Sana*, the remains of two structures. One of these, situated about a mile and a half from Tewai, consists of a cell, composed of two rows of three pillars each, with long stones between them, piled on each other for walls, on three sides. The pillars are $1\frac{1}{2}$ feet square, but they are evidently taken from some more ancient building, as two of them, though doing duty as pillars, are the top or sides of a doorway. The pillars are surmounted by cruciform corbels, one foot three inches deep, carrying architraves of the same depth and one foot six inches wide. The roof itself has long ago disappeared. The ruin is known as "the Banya's house." About 200 feet off it, but quite hidden away in the dense jungle, one comes quite suddenly on a remarkably picturesque ruin. This consists of the remains of two distinct buildings, both made of, or supplemented by, spoils from other buildings. They consist of two colonnades. The higher and larger one has four rows of pillars, three in each row, surmounted by capitals and architraves, but without a roof. The other consists of four rows of two pillars each, but much lower in height, though the pillars appear similar, both in execution and in all particulars of size, except height. These are also surmounted by corbelled capitals and architraves. The pillars are not all alike: some are very thick and massive, and plainly, but exquisitely and boldly, sculptured, some are thin and coarsely executed, while others, again, are made up of nondescript fragments, piled upon each other. The architraves, surmounting and connecting the pillars, are massive and sculptured in the plain geometric patterns so common in the Chandel temples of Central India. One of the finer pillars is represented in the accompanying plate.¹

"Turning sharp round from these ruins is a narrow goat-path, leading up the low hillock, the top is flat and of considerable extent, and is strewn with fragments of bricks. This hillock, or mound, is known as *Bara Hathia Garh*. This last is in places profusely scattered over with fragments of bricks, which must have been of large size, as I measured a fragment more than 14 inches long by a foot wide.

"The broken bricks both on this and on the smaller height, following generally the edge of the flat tableland on the top, show that they are the remains of a defensive wall of some kind, which ran along the edge of the hillocks. In addition to the bricks, there are also rudely dressed stones, piled on each other, without cementing material of any kind. It appears from these that both hillocks were at one time surrounded by a fortified wall, built of brick, or of brick and stone. This fort was naturally divisible into two portions, occupying respectively the larger and smaller heights, and connected or separated by the depressed neck between them, spoken of before. The larger contained, besides, a citadel of rubble stone walls, laid on each other without cementing material. The position is naturally strong, being defended on three sides by a great bend of a rivulet, which runs past, and is known as the *Ban Ganga*. The ravines from the river reach right up to these hillocks, and are deep, with very steep sides.

¹ See Plate XIV for this pillar with two others from Bhair Ghat

"A few fragments of sculpture are scattered here and there within Bara Hathia Garh. The principal statue, which is still worshipped, is a large three-headed figure, having a tall conical head-dress, ornamented with 7 rows of fringes. The heads have all a third eye in the forehead, the left head has its mouth open, and the tongue projected half out. The figure is broken, the portion now remaining being only the upper half of the body. The face measures eighteen inches across from ear to ear, and the whole fragment measures three feet nine inches by five feet three inches. As I have already stated, it is worshipped by the villagers, and I found a bunch of peacock's feathers and a few glass bangles, probably the offerings of some devout females, near the statue."

"Close to, and just outside the east end of the fort, there is a deep rock cut hollow containing water. It is unmistakably the site of an old quarry."

"Not far from Tewar and Kairanbel there is a sacred tank known locally as *Pushkarini*, close to it, and near the road, is a statue, with an inscription in two lines, which ends with the words '*Isāna Sinha Murtika Pakṣa*'."

18 — BHERA GHAT

About six miles ^{west} ^{by} south from Tewar by the road, but not more than two miles direct from Kairanbel, there is a famous bathing-place on the Narbada, named *Bhera Ghāt*. It is situated at the confluence with the Narbada of the small stream which winds round the ruins of Kairanbel. At the old city it is called the *Bāngangā*, but at its junction with the Narbada it is known only as the *Saraswatī*. On both sides of this rivulet there are temples. The western group is considered the more sacred one, but the whole are of modern rubble and stucco, and are utterly devoid of interest. Immediately above the confluence are the famous "marble rocks," which rise in nearly vertical strata on both sides above the clear waters of the Narbada. In the fork formed between the little Sarsuti and the great river, the rocks rise into a small hill, which is crowned by a temple, surrounded by a very curious circular cloister of considerable antiquity. A long flight of roughly hewn stone steps leads right up from the bed of the river to the temple. The position of this temple is singularly fine and commanding. Close beneath, on the south, the blue waters of the Narbada seem to sleep, spell bound, under the snow-white walls that shut them in. To the north and west the view is bounded by thickly wooded heights, but on the east the eye looks down on a long reach of the river, stretching away for miles towards Jabalpur. It is just such a spot as a Buddhist would

have chosen for a stûpa. But the attraction for the Brahman must have been the *sangam*, or junction of the holy waters of the little Saraswatî with those of the Narbada. Every confluence of rivers is held sacred, and the mingled waters of two streams are considered more efficacious in the washing away of sin than those of any single river, however famous it may be. Hence Bhera Ghât is one of the holy bathing-places on the Narbada. Here bathed King Gâyâ Karna, attended by his queen and his son, his prime minister, and his commander-in-chief, his treasurer and his family priest, and other officials, on the occasion of making a grant of land to certain Brahmans. Here also bathed Queen Gosalâ Devi, the widow of King Nara Sinha Deva, on making a grant of the village Choralaga to a Brahman. The spot was, therefore, a holy one in the eyes of the Brahmans, and was no doubt occupied at a very early period by one of their temples.

The present temple is a comparatively modern building, being made up partly of old carved stones, and partly of bricks. It does not occupy the centre of the circle, nor does its mid-line even correspond with the mid-line of the enclosure. The basement of the temple itself, however, appears to be old and undisturbed, but much of the superstructure and the whole of the portico are of a later period. Looking at its position in the north-western quadrant of the circle, I am inclined to think that originally there must have been a similar shrine opposite to it in the south-western quarter, with the main temple, occupying the eastern half of the circle, immediately opposite the western entrance. Accepting this proposed arrangement as a probable one, the oblique position of the south-eastern entrance is at once accounted for by its convenience for an approach from the eastern side. By this arrangement also the portico of the present temple, which now forms an incongruous excrescence, would become quite unnecessary, and its deeply moulded pillars would be available for the portico of the supposed main temple on the east side of the circle.¹ The basement of the present temple, which is 25 feet long by 22 feet broad, will thus belong to the same period as the pillars of the fine circular cloister which now surrounds it.

The temple is known as the shrine of *Gauri Sankar*, from a group placed inside. But this group, which is 4 feet

¹ See Plate XIV for elevation of these pillars

1½ inches high and 2 feet 7½ inches broad, must have belonged to the cloister series of figures, as it corresponds exactly with their dimensions, and is, moreover, set up on one of the cloister pedestals. Other figures now inside the temple are—

- (1) Vishnu and Lakshmi on garud in dark-blue stone
- (2) Sûrya, standing with Arun, driving the seven horses of the sun, 3 feet 6 inches high by 1 foot 10 inches broad
- (3) Small Hara-Gauri, or Siva and Pârvatî
- (4) Small figure of Ganesa
- (5) Figure of Dharmma, a 4-armed female, 1 foot 10½ inches high, with a small figure of Buddha in the head-dress. Flying figures with garlands above, and the traces of the Buddhist creed inscribed on the base.

From the presence of this undoubted Buddhist figure it might be supposed that the circular cloister must once have surrounded a Buddhist stûpa. But the letters of the inscription are of later date than those of the names inscribed on the pedestals of the cloister statues, which themselves appear to be an integral part of the original structure. The circular form is certainly unusual in Brahmanical enclosures, but it would appear to be the correct form for temples that are dedicated to the Chaunsat Joginis, as three other Jogini temples of this form are now known. The fifth Jogini temple at Khajurâha is oblong, but all the five temples are hypæthral, or open to the sky.

The inner diameter of the cloister is 116 feet 2 inches, and the outer diameter 130 feet 9 inches. The cloister consists of a circular row of 84 square pillars, with the same number of full pilasters arranged opposite to them against a back wall. The actual cloister is only 4 feet 9 inches wide and 5 feet 3½ inches high under the eaves, with a rise of 8½ inches above the ground. The back wall is 2 feet 7½ inches thick. The eaves are formed by a 10-inch projection of the architrave, which is sloped away in a graceful curve, as shown in the section of the cloister¹. The whole is roofed with large slabs of stone from 8 to 9 inches thick, which are moulded on both front and back, and form a graceful finish to this fine colonnade.

The number of pillars being 84, the cloister is divided into as many spaces or intervals. Three of these—two to the west, and the other to the south-east—are left as entrances,

¹ See Plate XIII

while the remaining 81 spaces are fitted with pedestals between the pilasters for the reception of statues. Each of these pedestals is 3 feet 5 inches long, 1 foot 8 inches broad, and 1 foot high¹. The pillars are $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches square, and the intervals between them 3 feet $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches. But the intervals between the back pillars is 3 feet $7\frac{1}{4}$ inches, so that the pedestals just fit in between them, and they were no doubt an integral part of the original structure.

The statues are of two kinds—sitting and standing. The sitting statues are generally 4 feet 2 inches high, and 2 feet $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches broad. Where not otherwise described in the following list, they are all four-armed goddesses, and are generally remarkable for the size of their breasts. Most of them are *Joginis* (Sanskrit, *Jogini*), or female demons, attendant on *Durgā*. The temple is, therefore, commonly known as the *Chaunsat Jogini*, or “sixty-four female demons.” Eight of the figures I have identified as the *ashta sakti*, or female energies of the gods. Three of them seem to be personified rivers, while two only are male figures of Siva and Ganesa [Nos. 15 and 1]. All the other sitting figures I take to be *Joginis*. There are, besides, four dancing female figures which are not inscribed (Nos. 39, 44, 60 and 78), but one of them, No. 44, is certainly the skeleton goddess *Kālī*, and the others are no doubt only various forms of the same malignant deity. Most of the statues have inscriptions on their pedestals, as detailed in the following list².

No	Inscription	Symbol	Figure	Remarks
1	Sri Ganesah	Deer	Sitting	
2	Sri Chhattra Samvara	Fabulous lion	Sitting female	Jogini
3	Sri Apārā	Skeleton figures	Ditto	Do
4	Sri Chandikā	prostrate man	Standing female	Sakti
5	Sri Mandā	Lotus	Sitting female	Jogini
6	Sri Kāmadi	Yoni 2 men worship	Ditto	Do
7	Sri Brahmāni	Goose	Ditto	Sakti
8	Sri Maheswari	Bull	Ditto	Do
9	Sri Tankari	Fabulous lion	10 armed female	Jogini
10	Sri Jayanti	Female animal	Sitting female	Do
11	Sri Rudra-hansa	Flowers	Ditto	Do
12	Sri Banajira	Elephant	Ditto	Do
13	[Name lost]	Nāgni	Ditto	Do
14	Sri Himsini	Goose	Ditto	Do
15	[Not inscribed]		16 armed male	3 eyed Siva
16	Sri Iswari	Bull	Sitting female	Jogini
17	Sri Thauri	Hill peak	Ditto	Do
18	Sri Indrajali	Elephant	Ditto	Do

¹ Wilson, Sanskrit Dict., *in voc.*, limits the *yoginis* to 8, but the number of 64 is well known all over India and there is besides, another temple at Khajuraho, which is named after them the *chaunsat jogini*.

² See Plate XVI for copies of all these inscriptions.

No	Inscription	Symbol	Figure	Remarks
19	[Broken]	Bull skeletons	Sitting female	Jogini
20	[Lost]			
21	Sri Bhakini	Camel	Ditto	Do
22	Sri Dhanendra	Prostrate man	Ditto	Do
23	[Lost]			
24	Sri Uttalā	Antelope	Ditto	Do
25	Sri Lampatā	Prostrate man	Ditto	Do
26	Sri Uha	Peacock	Ditto	Saraswati river
27	Sri *samādā	Boar	Ditto	
28	Sri Gāndhārī	Horse	Winged female	
29	Sri Jāhnavī	Crocodile	2 armed female	Ganges river
30	Sri Dakṣiṇī	Man and skeletons	Sitting female	Jogini
31	Sri Bandhani	Small male figure	Ditto	
32	Sri Darppahārī	lion	Sitting female lions head	
33	Sri Baishnavī	Garud	female sitting on garud	Sakti
34	Sri Dangrini	Ditto	Sitting female	Jogini
35	Sri Ritshini	Crocodile	Ditto	Jogini
36	Sri Sākini	Vulture?	Ditto	
37	Sri Ghanṭā	Bell	Ditto	Jogini
38	Sri Tattari	Elephant	Sitting female elephant's head	Do
39	[Not inscribed]		Dancing female	Do
40	Sri Gānggini	Bull		Do
41	Sri Bhishani	Prostrate man with rayed head dress	Sitting female	Do
42	Sri Satanu Sambarā	Deer	Ditto	Do
43	Sri Gahani	Ram	Ditto	Do
44	[Not inscribed]		Dancing female	Kali
45	Sri Duduri	Saddled horse	Sitting female	Jogini
46	Sri Varahi	Boar	Sitting female with boar's head	Sakti
47	Sri Nālinī	Bull	Sitting female with cows' head	Jogini
48	ENTRANCE			
49	[Lost]			
50	Sri Nandini	lion	Sitting female	Do
51	Sri Indrāni	Elephant	Ditto	Sakti
52	Sri Lurri	Cow	Ditto with cow's head	Jogini
53	Sri Shandini	Donkey	Broken figure	Do
54	Sri Auggini	Man with elephant's head	Sitting female with elephant's head	Do
55	[Name lost]	Boar	Sitting female with boar's head	Do
56	Sri Teranta	Mahesaur	Sitting female with 20 arms	
57	Sri Pārani	Prostrate man	Sitting female with 10 arms	
58	Sri Vāyuvana	Antelope	Broken figure	
59	Sri Ubhera Varddhani	Bird	Ditto	
60	[Not inscribed]	Elephant	Dancing female	
61	Sri Sarvato mukhi	Lotus and double triangle	headed 12 armed goddess	
62	Sri Mandodari	2 men worshipping with folded hands	Broken female	Jogini
63	Sri Khernukhi	Long beaked bird	Ditto	Do
64	Sri Jāmbavī	Bear	Ditto	Do
65	Sri Auragā	Naked man	Ditto	Do
66	[Lost]			
67	Sri Thira-chittā	Man praying with folded hands	Sitting female	
68	Sri Yamunā	Turtle	Sitting female, 2 arms	River Jumna
69	[Lost]			
70	Sri Vibhasā	Prostrate man and skeleton	Sitting female	
71	Sri Sinha sinha	lion headed man	Sitting female with lion's head	Sakti
72	Sri Niladambārā	Garud	Ditto	Jogini
73	[Worn away]	Name	Ditto	Do
74	Sri Antaḥārī	Bull	Sitting female with open mouth	Do
75	[Name lost]	Long nosed bull	Sitting female	Do
76	Sri Pingalā	Peacock	Ditto	Sakti

No	Inscription	Symbol	Figure	REMARKS
77	Sri Akkhalā	2 men worshipping with folded hands	Sitting female	Sakti
78	[Not inscribed]	Bird	Dancing female	Jogini
79	Sri Kshattrā dharminī	Bull with chain	Sitting females skulls in head dress	
80	Sri Virendri	Horse's head and profile figure	Sitting females with sword and shield	Do
81	[Lost]			
82	Sri Riddhali Devi	Animal with claws	Sitting female	Do
83	W ENTRANCE			
84				

It will be observed that the four standing statues bear no inscriptions, and that only two of them have symbols on their bases. The sitting statues are made of a grey sandstone, and are all highly ornamented, whereas the standing statues are made of a purplish sandstone, and are much less ornamented. Other details are noted in the following remarks on the probable meanings of the names, and the probable identification of the figures as joginis, saktis, nivesis, &c.

2 *Sambarā*—a Sāmbhar deer. Deer on the pedestal, but the allusion to *chattrā* is not known.

3 *Ajitā*—Ajita-Siva, "the unconquered," and *ajitā* is the feminine form.

4 *Chandikā*—Durgā-Maheswarī, "the furious."

5 *Mānandā*—Probably for Ānanda, the "happy, or joyful."

6 *Kāmadi*—Kāmada is the fabulous cow of plenty, so Kāmadi is the goddess who grants all desires, and the symbol of the *yoni* points to the desires as sexual.

7 *Brahmāni*—A goose on the pedestal shows that this goddess is the *sakti*, or female energy, of Brahmā.

8 *Maheswarī*—The bull Nandi on the pedestal shows that this goddess is the *sakti*, or female energy, of Maheswara, or Siva.

9 *Tankārī* is probably derived from *tanka*, a sword or axe, both of which weapons are carried in two of the ten hands of this goddess.

10 *Jayani*—the "conquering" goddess.

11 *Padma-hansā*—Not known.

12 *Ranājirā*—goddess of the "battle field."

14 *Hansini*, or Hansinirā—Not known.

16 *Iswari*—Name of *sakti*, or female energy, either Durgâ or Lakshmi

17 *Thâni*—Sthânu is a name of Siva, as the “firm or immovable,” from *stha* to stay, or *sthâ* to stand still, hence the mountain peak is an appropriate symbol of *sthâni*, the “immovable” goddess, just as a mountain is called *achala*, or the “immovable”

18 *Indrajâli*—the “deceiving” goddess The elephant symbol alludes to the name of Indra, with perhaps an allusion to his well-known deceits

21 *Thakni*—Unknown

With reference to the camel symbol on the pedestal, Mr Beglar suggests *Ushtrakni*, or the cameline goddess This derivation is countenanced by that of No 17, in which the initial sibilant is omitted

22 *Dhanendri*—Dhan means to “sound,” but it is spelt with the dental *dh* The use of the cerebral is probably a mistake, and the name may simply mean the “sounding goddess”

24 *Uttâlâ* may perhaps mean the “swift goddess,” as the antelope symbol seems to imply

25 *Lampalâ*—the “courtesan goddess”

26 *Ūhâ*—I think that this goddess is the personification of the Saraswati river In Nos 29 and 68 we have the Ganges and Jumna personified The name may be derived from *Ūha*, “to reason,” and *Ūhâ* would mean the “reasoning goddess”—an appropriate name for Saraswati, the goddess of speech and eloquence This assignment is confirmed by the peacock on the pedestal, which is the symbol of the Saraswati river

27 * *tsamâdâ*—boar on pedestal The initial letter unknown It occurs again in initial No 35

28 *Gândhârî*—a winged goddess, with horse or ass symbol I think that the name must be connected with *gandharvâ*, “a horse,” typical of swiftness, which is also implied by the wings

29 *Jâhnarî*—This is a well-known name of the Ganges, and as the symbol is a *makara*, or “crocodile,” it is certain that this is the river goddess herself

30 *Dâkni*—In Hindi *dakni* is the common name for a witch or she-demon

31 *Bandham*—from *bandh*, to bind, or *bandhan*, hurting, injuring, killing Mr Beglar suggests that the man on the pedestal may be a prisoner

32 *Darppahāri*—most probably a mistake for *Darbbahāri*. *Darbbā* means a *rākshasa*, or demon, from *dri*, to “tear,” and *darbbahāri* would be the “tearer,”—a title confirmed by the lion on the pedestal, and by the lion’s head of the goddess

33 *Vaishnavi* is the name of the *sakti*, or personified energy of Vishnu, known also by *garud*, on the pedestal

34 *Danggiṇi*—First letter doubtful

35 *Rikshini*—crocodile on the pedestal The value of the first letter is uncertain (see No 27) The symbol of the crocodile seems to point to a river goddess, and *Rikshini* would be the name of the *Narbada*, which rises in the *Riksha* mountain A female figure at *Tewar*, standing on a crocodile, is called *Narbada mai*, or “Mother *Narbada*”

36 *Sākini*—Wilson describes *sākini* as “a female divinity of an inferior character attendant equally on *Siva* and *Durgā*” Mr Beglar remarks that “in the *Baitāl Pachisi* *sākini*s are mentioned in connection with cemeteries” They are, in fact, the female goblins whom *Rājā Vikram* saw eating the dead bodies The symbol of a *vulture* on the pedestal is, therefore, appropriate

37 *Ghantālī*—the “bell” goddess, with a bell or *ghanta* on the pedestal

38 *Tattari*—Wilson says a kettle-drum, or any musical instrument I presume that the name refers to the “trumpet,” as the goddess has an elephant’s head, and there is an elephant on the pedestal *Tatta* is the imitative sound of the trumpet, like *tantara* in English

40 *Gānggiṇi*—The first letter is doubtful

41 *Bhishani*—the “terrific goddess” *Bhishana* is a name of *Siva*

42 *Satani Sambarā*—deer on pedestal *Sambarā* is the *Sāmba* deer

43 *Gahani*—ram on pedestal The first letter is doubtful The name may mean the destroying goddess, from *gāh*, to destroy

45 *Duduri*—The derivation is not clear *du* means “bad,” and also “to give pain.” Perhaps it is only a duplication of *dur* = pain, which would mean the “pain-giving” goddess But the symbol of the saddled horse is puzzling

46 *Vārāhi* is one of the *saktis* of Vishnu, as the *Varāha* *Avatāra* There is a boar on the pedestal, and the goddess has a boar’s head

47 *Nālini*—perhaps from *nal*, “to bind” There is a bull and cow on the pedestal, and the goddess has a cow’s head

50 *Nandinī* is the title of the goddess *Pārvatī*, but the lion on the pedestal rather seems to point to *Nādinī*, or “roarer,” as the true name

51 *Indrānī*—the wife of Indra As there is no *Andrī* in this collection, *Indrānī* must be intended for the *sakti*, or female energy, of India

52 *Eruri*, or *Ejari*, but the first reading seems preferable The goddess has a cow’s head, and there is a cow on the pedestal

53 *Shandimī*—*Shanda* means a bull, but the animal on the pedestal is apparently an ass

54 *Aṅgīmī*—an elephant-headed goddess, with an elephant-headed man on the pedestal The name seems to refer to *ingga*, “movable,” which is itself derived from *igi*, ‘to go’

56 *Teranta*, or perhaps *Techanta* As there is a figure of Mahesurī on the pedestal, the title must refer to some name of Duigā The goddess has 20 arms

57 *Pāvavi*—I take this name to be a mistake for *Pārvatī*, as the goddess has 10 arms, which point to Duigā

58 *Vāyuneḡā*—“swift as the wind” The antelope on the pedestal evidently alludes to the swiftness

59 *Abhera Varddhanī*—“the increaser of light” There is a class of demi-gods, 64 in number, who are named *abhaswaras*, who, from their number, would appear to have some connection with the 64 joginis The bird on the pedestal gives no assistance towards the meaning of the name

61 *Survato-mukhī*—This goddess has 12 arms and 3 heads, with a head also between her breasts The number of heads explain the name of “Facing everywhere” Mr Beglar remarks that the leaves of the lotus and the six points of the double triangle seem also to allude to the name

62 *Mandodari*, or “slow-belly,” was the name of Rāvan’s wife

63 *Khemūkhī*—The long-beaked bird on the pedestal seems to refer to the name, which may perhaps be translated “voracious mouth,” from *khed*, to eat The statue is broken

64 *Jāmbavī*, or the “bear goddess,” with a “bear” on the pedestal, evidently points to *Jambavat*, the fabulous bear

who was the father-in-law of Krishna. This statue probably had a bear's head, but it is now broken.

65 *Aurágá*—The first letter is not certain, and the naked man on the pedestal does not seem to give any assistance.

67 *Thua-chittá* is probably intended for *Sthira-chitta*, "the firm or steady minded."

68 *Yamuná*—This goddess is the river Jumna personified, of whom the tortoise on the pedestal was the symbol.

70 *Vibhasá* must be connected either with *vibheshu*, "terrible," or with *vibhitsu*, "the piercer." The skeleton and prostrate man on the pedestal point to some appellation of Durgá.

71 *Sinha-sinhá*—This lion-headed goddess, with the lion-headed-man on the pedestal, is probably intended for *Narasinhá*, the sakti or female energy of the *Narasinhá avatára*.

72 *Niladambara* is probably the same as *Nilámbará*, a female demon, and the garud on the pedestal refers to her connection with Vishnu.

74 *Antakáru*—a goddess, with open mouth, ready to devour—must mean the "death-causer," from *anta*, "end or death." *Antaka* is a name of *Yama*, the god of death, but the bull on the pedestal would seem to refer to Siva, who, as *Pasupati*, is also the god of death and destruction.

76 *Pingalá* means "tawny, or brownish-red." The peacock on the pedestal would point to Kaumáru, the sakti of Skanda Kumára or Káttikaya.

77 *Akhhalá*—On the pedestal are two men, with folded hands, worshipping. The reading of the name is clear, but I am ignorant of its meaning.

79 *Kshattia-dharmini*—The compound *kshattradharmina* means the duty of a kshattia, or soldier, i.e., "bravery." But as *kshattria* is derived from *kshad*, "to eat, to rend, to tear to pieces," the title of this goddess would mean the "tearer to pieces, or the devourer." The skulls in her head-dress confirm this meaning, and the lion on the pedestal must refer to the same.

80 *Vinendri* is armed with sword and shield, and has a horse's head, with skeletons, on the pedestal. I believe that the name should be *Vanendri*, the "inimical goddess," rather than *Vinendri*, the heroic goddess.

82 *Radháli Devi*—"the hurtful goddess," from *rikh*, to "hurt." The animal, with claws, on the pedestal seems to confirm this derivation.

The result of this examination shows that the statue set up in this circular cloister may be divided into five distinct groups as follows

<i>Saktis</i> , commonly known as <i>ashta sakti</i>	8 statues
<i>Rivers</i> Ganges, Jumna and Saraswati	3
<i>Dancing goddesses</i> Kâli, &c	4
<i>Gods</i> Siva and Ganesa	2
<i>Joginis</i> , or the <i>chaunsat jogini</i> , 57 intact, 7 lost	64
	<hr/>
	81
Two entrances [= 3 spaces]	3
	<hr/>
Total	84

The *saktis* are generally known by their names, although the lists differ in one or two of them. They form a very common group in most Brahmanical temples, and also in many of the later Buddhist temples.

Two of the *rivers*—the Ganges and the Jumna—are found sculptured in nearly all the earliest Hindu temples, one at each side of the entrance. The Ganges, the Jumna, and the Saraswati are known by their attendant animals, the crocodile, the tortoise, and the peacock, which are singularly appropriate symbols of the three rivers. The Ganges teems with crocodiles, the Jumna with tortoises, and the banks of the Saraswati with peafowl.

The dancing *goddesses*, Kâli, &c, are known to be merely different representations of Durgâ, the wife of Siva.

The only *gods* now in the cloister are Siva and his son Ganesa.

The *Joginis* are always represented as attendants on the blood-thirsty goddess Kâli or Durgâ. At Khajurâha, where there is a rectangular cloister, with 64 cells, dedicated to them, I was informed that, whenever a battle takes place, the *Joginis* hasten with their bowls to catch the blood of the slain, and that whoever dedicates a temple to them, will be victorious. In the Râjâ Taranginî they are called "divinities of a lower order," *madyapadevata*, who were both lustful and blood-thirsty. They could reanimate the dead to satisfy their desires, or tear them to pieces to appease their hunger.¹ In the Prabodha Chandrodaya they are described as dancing on the field of battle, and making use of the skulls of the slain as symbols.² In the Rudra Upanishad it is

¹ See Râjâ Taranginî II, 100-103, and Troyer's note.

² Prabodha Chandrodaya, Taylor's Translation, Prologue, XI.

stated that Siva, after the death of Jalandhara on the field of battle,—

“summoned in thought the yoginis, who instantly appeared, and thus, with folded hands, addressed him ‘Oh Siva! what shall we do?’ He replied ‘Quickly, in obedience to my command, devour the flesh of that Dairya’ Then Brahmī, Maheswari, Kaumārī, Vaishnavī, Vārāhī, and Mahendrī, with cruel looks, hastened to devour the flesh of Jalandhara. Siva then said to them ‘Drink up the blood,’ and they, delighted, immediately quaffed the gory stream, and danced with joy”¹

It is perhaps noteworthy that five of the six goddesses mentioned in this extract are generally considered as *saktis*²

At the present day the Joginis are still described as frequenting cemeteries and devouring the dead. When Rājā Vikramājit approached the sris tree in which a corpse was suspended, “he saw that goblins were laying hold of and eating men, that witches were chewing the liveis of children, tigers were roaring, and elephants screaming”³ This extract explains the origin of many of the names of the joginis, which refer to noise, and why lions and elephants were considered appropriate symbols

In the Bheria Ghât sculptures, many of the Joginis are represented with their mouths open, and showing their teeth, or rather fangs. In the pictures of the present day they are represented in a similar fashion, but their teeth are longer, and their mouths are always red. This is in strict accordance with the general belief, which has passed into a proverb,—

“*Dāhin khar, to munh lāl,*
Nah khar, to munh lāl”

“Whether or not she eats the dead,
 The goblin’s mouth is always red”

Nothing whatever is known about the builder of this curious temple, and the only means we have left to fix the date are the shapes of the characters used in the inscriptions. The style of architecture is plain and simple, and may belong to any period between 900 and 1200 A. D. But the characters of the inscriptions point to the earlier date, as they correspond exactly with those of one of the inscriptions of Lakshmana, who was the father of Yuva Rājā, the contemporary of Vākpati of Mālwa. Lakshmana’s date must,

¹ Researches into Hindu Mythology by Vans Kennedy, p. 490

² See Colebrooke, *Amarakośha*, p. 6 note

³ *Batal Pachisi*, translated by Hollings, p. 9

therefore, be placed about A D 950 to 975, and to this period, the latter half of the tenth century, I am inclined to assign the statues

Only one inscription has been found at Bhera Ghât, but this is of a much later date—certainly as late as A D 1100. In it is recorded the building of a temple, which I should have been glad to accept as an account of the origin of the Chaunsat Jogini colonnade. The following is Professor Hall's translation of the verses relating to the building of a temple at Bhera Ghât some time after 1100 A D —¹

Verse 27 —“That lady, the open-handed Alhanâ Devi, mother of the happy Nara Sinha Deva, occasioned this sanctuary of Indu Mauli [Siva] to be erected, and this cloister, with its admirable pavement

Verse 28 —The same, by the agency of her commissioner, constructed this hall of learning and line of gardens, wanting for nothing, in two ranges, attached to the temple of Sambhu [Siva]

Verse 29 —To this divinity, entitled Vaidyâmatha, the queen, to the end that her good deeds might be blazoned, set up at the village known by the name of Undi, in the canton of Jâuli, with all the dues exigible therefrom”

In these verses the word translated ‘cloister’ is *matha*, which, so far as I know, does not usually mean an open colonnade for the reception of statues, but a monastic cloister or college, where young and unmarried Brahmins pursue their studies. The “admirable pavement,” *adbhuta bhumika*, seems, however, more applicable to the open court surrounded by the chaunsat jogini cloister, than to the floor of a college hall. The Bhera Ghat temple, with its circular cloister, was undoubtedly dedicated to Siva, and so also was Alhanâ Devi's temple. But the characters of the inscriptions seem to me to be so clearly of an earlier date than 1100 A D, that I feel very great hesitation in accepting so late a date for the Bhera Ghât jogini temple. We know that Yasa Karna, the father of Gayâ Karna, made a grant to a Brahman, who was still alive in A D 1120, when he transferred the land to another person. Gayâ Karna could not, therefore, have begun to reign much before A D 1100, and as Alhanâ Devi's temple was built after the death of her husband Gayâ Karna, when her son Nara Sinha Deva was already grown up, its date cannot be placed earlier than 1120 to 1130 A D, which is just one century and a half later than the period which I should be inclined to assign to it on

¹ Journal of the American Oriental Society, VI, 511. Two Sanskrit inscriptions translated by Professor Hall.

the palæographic evidence. There remains, however, the stubborn fact, that this record of Alhanâ Devi, describing the erection of a temple to Siva, was actually found at Bhera Ghât, where there still exists a temple to Siva, and the only one to which the queen's inscription can possibly be applied. My conclusion therefore is, that the Chaunsat Jogini temple was originally a simple circular enclosure, containing the figures of the Joginis, the wall being of the same height as the statues. This old wall, with the inscribed statues, I would assign to the latter half of the tenth century. That the original wall was restricted to this height, is absolutely certain, from the difference of construction between the upper and lower portions. The lower wall up to the heads of the statues is built throughout of large squared blocks of stone, in regular courses, which fit together accurately, while the upper portion is built of smaller stones of irregular shape, and not accurately fitted, the interstices being filled in with small pieces. In this upper part, also, there are many carved stones, belonging to former buildings. I conclude, therefore, that the circular cloister, as it at present stands, is the work of two different periods: the old circular wall, with its inscribed statues, belonging to the tenth century, and the cloister, with its roof, being the work of Queen Alhanâ Devi in the twelfth century. To this latter period I would assign the portico pillars of the present temple.

In the accompanying plate I have given a sketch of what I conceive to have been the original old wall with its simple projecting caves over the line of statues, and below it I have given a section of the cloister as it stands at present, showing what I believe to be the additions made by Alhanâ Devi.¹ In the circular temple of Coimbatore the enclosing wall reaches only to the shoulders of the statues. This also is the case with the Buddhist temples in Burma, where the heads of the statues can be seen from the outside over the top of the surrounding walls. Besides the supposed section of the original Bhera Ghât circle, I have given a section of the Râmpur-Jural circle from Mr Beglar's drawings. In this example there is no colonnade, but only a simple surrounding wall, with thin partition walls separating the 64 statues—an arrangement which tends very strongly to confirm the correctness of my supposed design of the original Bhera Ghât temple.

¹ See Plate XIII

In the oblong Jogini temple at Khajurâha there are 64 distinct *cells*, separated from each other by thick walls, while each cell has a distinct pyramidal roof. Colonel Macpherson, also describes 65 *cells* in the Suiâdâ temple¹ in the district of Kâlâhandi. There is no mention of cells in the Coimbatore circle, but there are exactly 64 cells in the Rânpur-Jural circular cloister. In the Khajurâha example the circular form was perhaps found impracticable, owing to the narrowness of the ridge on which it is built. But as all the other four temples are circular, it would seem that this was the recognized, if not the obligatory, form of a Jogini temple. But there is another peculiar feature, which must, I think be considered as absolutely obligatory, as all the five known examples are simple enclosures, open to the sky. They may, therefore, be called Indian hypæthral temples, as they have already been designated by Sir Walter Elliot.

In the Khajurâha enclosure there is no trace of any central shrine, but in the Bhera Ghât circle there is a raised platform, which, as it lies in a direct line between the two entrances, would appear to have formed a part of the original structures. In the Rânpur-Jural temple there is a central canopy, supported on four pillars, and an open shrine, due south, in the surrounding wall.

The following are the dimensions of these curious circular temples —

Bhera Ghât temple,	130 feet	9 inches	outer diameter
Suiâdâ	66	10	" "
Rânpur-Jural	55	9	" "

In the narrow channel of the Narbada, winding between the white marble rocks, there is one place where the cliffs approach so closely, that the people have named it the monkey's leap [*bandar kudni*]. This passage is said to have been made by Indra, and the round marks of his elephant's feet are still pointed out on the rocks. According to the legend, the monkey, who gave the name to this narrow part of the river, lost her life in attempting to leap across. She fell into a clump of bamboos, where her head stuck fast, while her body fell into the Narbada. In her next birth this monkey became the daughter of the Râjâ of Kâsi [Benares]. In person she was faultless, but she had a monkey's head. Learned Brahmans were consulted, who

gave their opinion that her monkey's head was derived from her previous birth, that her monkey's body had been purified by immersion in the holy waters of the Narbada, but the head was still impure. The monkey's head was accordingly diligently sought for, and taken from its bamboo tomb, when, after immersion in the Narbada, the princess suddenly found her head changed into that of a lovely girl.

I have already noted that nothing whatever is known by the people regarding the building of the Chaunsat Jogini temple, but there is a widely known legend which attributes its erection to a miraculous personage named *Sālnāhan Nāgvansa*. His mother was the beautiful daughter of a Baniya of Benares, who, when going to bathe in the Ganges, was pursued by a large snake, and finding herself unable to escape, sat down, and shut her eyes in horror. But the nāga was charmed by her beauty, and assuming his human shape, had connexion with her. When the signs of pregnancy appeared, her parents turned her out of the house, and she found refuge with an old potter. Soon after she gave birth to a son, who was adopted by the potter, and from that day good luck attended him. When the boy was 7 or 8 years old, the King of Delhi sent to demand tribute from the Rájá of Benares, whose country extended to Badalgah on the south side of the Narbada. When the Rájá and his minister were debating what was to be done, the old potter and the boy happened to attend with some vessels which he had been ordered to make. The boy, hearing the discussion, suddenly, to the surprise of every one, counselled war. After his return home, he went out to play in the jungle, and having loitered till it was dark, he lost his way, and, getting quite bewildered, he sat down and cried. At that very moment Siva and Pārvatī were riding together through the air on the bull Nandi. When Pārvatī heard the child's cry, she prevailed on Siva to descend to the earth. The boy told the story of the morning, how he had made a promise to fight for the Rájá, but as he had neither followers nor money, he could not keep his promise, and could only bewail his helplessness. Then Pārvatī took pity on him, and begged Siva to give him some help. So Siva questioned the boy whether he had nothing of his own to which he replied that he had nothing whatever, except plenty of clay toys¹. Siva

¹ In India children's toys are usually made of clay. This legend I owe to Mr. Beglar.

gave him a handful of ashes, and told him to bathe early in the morning, and afterwards to sprinkle all his toys with the ashes, and to say to them—"By the mercy of Mahâdeva, may you become alive" With a warning that the men so created, though invincible on land, would melt away and disappear in water, the god and goddess resumed their flight through the air

In the morning the boy did exactly according to Siva's bidding, and, with his army of animated clay men, gave battle to the King of Delhi, and so utterly defeated him, that he fled away at once, with all his soldiers, to the south, towards the Narbada. The potter's boy unthinkingly followed them into the river—when, instantly, his whole army disappeared, and he was left alone on the north bank of the Narbada, facing the King of Delhi and his troops on the south bank. Seeing everything lost, he fled away at once to Benares, where the Râjâ received him with joy, and set him up as Râjâ of Badalgah, with the title of *Sâlvâhan Nâgvansi*. Soon after his accession, he built the temple at Bhera Ghât, out of gratitude to his benefactors, and in it he placed the statues of Siva and Pârvatî, riding then bull Nandi, just as he had seen them when he was crying in the jungle

This group is now actually inside the temple, but, from its coincidence in size with the cloister figures, as well as from its being set up on one of the cloister pedestals, there can be no doubt that it is one of the original set of figures. The group is a peculiar one, as the god has a bull's head, while both figures are represented actually riding the bull Nandi—one behind the other, with legs astraddle, instead of being seated in the usual fashion, side by side, with crossed legs. My impression is, that this group was the principal object of worship, and, as such, was originally set up on the platform in the midst of the open court.

The name of *Chedi*, as already noticed, is as old as the composition of the Mahâbhârata, in which Sisupâl Râjâ of Chedi, whose betrothed wife Rukminî was carried off by Krishna, is one of the principal figures. It was in Chedi also, in the palace of the Râjâ, that Damayantî took refuge when deserted by Nala. In the Mahâbhârata, Râjâ Chedi is said to be the son of Damaghosha, but in the Purânas he is called the son of Kusika. In either case, he was a descendant of Kroshtri, the younger son of Yadu, the progenitor of

the Yādavas But these are the half mythical heroes of the early legends of India The later kings of Chedi, who ruled over the country along the upper course of the Narbada for several centuries, also claim descent from Yadu, through Kārtavīya and Haihaya, the descendants of Sahasrajit, the elder brother of Kroshtu Their temples and inscriptions still remain to attest both their wealth and the extent of their dominions In all their inscriptions they boast of their descent from Kārtavīya or Arjun of the thousand arms (Sahasrabahu), "the destroyer of the ten-necked demon's pride" [Rawan] They also call themselves *Haihayas*, or the descendants of *Haihaya*,—a name by which they are well known all over India But the particular name of the brilliant dynasty which ruled over Chedi for several centuries before the Muhammadan conquest was *Kulachuri*, the origin of which is unknown The princes of this dynasty established an era of their own, which is called sometimes the *Kulachuri Samvat*, and sometimes the *Chedi Samvat* It is used in all their inscriptions, and, as nearly as I can ascertain at present, it would appear to have been founded in A D 248 They also styled themselves "kings of Trikalinga," *trikalīngādhipati*, and lords of *Kālanjjanapura*

The capital of Chedi was named Tripura after the demon Tripura, who was said to have been slain by Siva on the site of the city It is almost certainly as old as the establishment of the Kulachuri dynasty, as it would appear to have been their capital throughout the whole period of their rule Of the early history of the dynasty nothing has yet come to light, but it may be conjectured with much probability that the Kulachuri rule was firmly established in *Chedi-des* at the time when their era was founded, about A D 248 The Kulachuris are first mentioned in the time of Mangalasa Chalukya [A D 530 to 550], who is said to have destroyed their power¹ The same king is also said to have expelled Budha Rājā, son of Sankaragana No country is mentioned, but as the peculiar name of Sankaragana occurs twice amongst the rulers of Chedi at a later period, I conclude that Budha Rājā must have been one of the earlier Kulachuri sovereigns His father Sankaragana would, therefore, have lived about A D 500 In later Chālukya inscriptions we learn that the Haihayas were defeated by Vinayāditya (A D

¹ See Sir Walter Elliot in Royal Asiatic Society's Journal IV 39, and Sir LeGrand Jacob in Bombay Asiatic Society's Journal I, 209

660 to 695), and that Vikramāditya II (inscription S S 665 = A D 733) married Lokamahā Devī, a Haihaya princess.

In Bāna's *Harsha Charita*, mention is made of Kākavarna, lord of Chandi [? Chedi], who was cut off by a descendant of Sisupāla. The name of Sisupāla, the famous Rājā of Chedi, is sufficient to show that this Kākavarna must have been one of the kings of that country.

I—BILHARI INSCRIPTION

The earliest inscription that has yet been discovered of the Haihaya rulers of Chedi was found in the old city of Bilhari. The text has been published by Professor Hall, with his accustomed accuracy.¹ No translation is given, but all the historical facts worth preserving are duly noted. The slab is a large one, 6 feet 5½ inches by 3 feet 5 inches. When Professor Hall saw it, it was at Jabalpur, but it has since been removed to the Nagpur Museum. The following is his summary of its contents—

“The names of kings—

Kokalla
|
Mugdhātunga,
|
Keyūravansha
|
Lakshmana
|
Sankaragana
|
Yuvarājā

“In this series, the succession passed from father to son, only Yuvarājā was Sankaragana's younger brother.

“We here have introduced to us a new line, descended from Kokalla, that bore sway in Chedi, the other line being that which proceeded through Gāngayī. Whether he was the elder son, or whether Mugdhātunga was, is not ascertained. However this may have been, it is tolerably clear, that, immediately after the time of Kokalla, Chedi underwent partition.

“Kokalla's grandson's grandson, Gāyā Karna, married a granddaughter of Udayāditya, sovereign of Dhâtā, and the Krishna Rājā whom Kokalla is said to have defeated in the south was not, possibly, that lady's ancestor. Again, the Bhoja whom he is recorded to have vanquished in the west was, without much question, one of the two kings

¹ Prof. Hall's Preface to *Vāsavadatta*, quoted by Bhanu Dāsi in the *Bombay Asiatic Society's Journal*, X, 42.

² *Journal, Asiatic Society of Bengal*, XXX, p. 317.

of Kanauj who bore that appellation. These kings will be spoken of in my next paper

"Of Mugdhatunga's exploits we learn nothing, further than that he wrested Pâli from the lord of Kosala

"Kcyûravarsha wedded a lady, Nohalâ by name, of whose family a few particulars are specified. Her father was Avanivarman, son of Sâdhanwan, son of Sinhavarman. Their clan was the Châlukya. The Châlukyâs, it is related, arose in this wise. Diona, son of Bhairadwya, becoming on one occasion incensed at Drupada, took water in his hand, in act to curse him. Some of it fell to the ground, and from it the Châlukyâs derived their origin.

• "Queen Nohalâ erected a temple to Siva, and gave it in charge to Iswarasiva, disciple of Subhasiva, who came after Pavanasiva, son of Madhumati. On Iswarasiva she bestowed two villages, Nipânfyâ and Vipâtaka, and she likewise set apart, for the behoof of the temple, Dhanguâ, Pâtaka, Pondî, Nâgabulâ, Khaulapâtaka, Vidâ, Sajjâkalî, and Gashthapâlî.

"Lakshmana was son of Keyûravarsha by Nohalâ. Like his grand-sire, Lakshmana waged hostilities against Kosala, and overcome its chief, if words of an Indian eulogist may be taken literally. Odia, or Orissa, he is also reported to have invaded, and to have despoiled its king of an effigy of Kâliya, wrought in gold and precious stones. This effigy he consecrated to Siva, at the famous temple of Someswara or Somanâtha, in Gujât, where he had before dedicated a car.

"Nohalâ's temple, from which doubtless our inscription came, is again spoken of, with its incumbents, and their spiritual precursors. One Rudiasambhu was a devotee at Kadambaguhâ. Among his disciples was Mattamayûranâtha, who was religious guide to a chieftain called Avanti. A line of holy personages is named as having followed Mattamayûranâtha's successor, Dhumasâmbhu. Sadâsiva, Madhumateya or Sudhâman, Chhâdâsiva, and Hridayasiva. The last was in the service of Râjâ Lakshman, who entrusted to him the temple aforesaid. From Hridayasiva it passed into the custody of Sâdhuvrinda, disciple of Aghorasiva.

"Sankaragana and his younger brother are dismissed by the inscription-writer with nine stanzas of vague encomium.

"Equally in inscriptions from the west, and in the one under abstract, which was discovered not far from the Narmadâ, we encounter the very uncommon names of Kokalla and Sankaragana, where the kings of Chedi are in question. There can scarcely, then, any longer be a doubt, that it is one and the same royal family which all those memorials have in reference.

"The first three kings of our inscription are panegyricized in it, we are told, by Srinivâsa, son of Sthûânanda, and the remaining three by Sajjana, son of Shîra. The compiler and supplementer of their labours seems to have been Râjâsekharâ. If this was the dramatist, a matter of some curiosity, in a literary point of view, now approaches its solution. Towards its conclusion, the inscription is much worn. Something is wholly abraded, and much more is impracticable of confident decipherment. The names Tripurî, Saubhâgyapura, Lavana-

gara, and Durlabhapura are, however, perfectly legible, and so are those of the transcriber for engraving, Tunâi, son of Vîra, and of the engraver Nona, son of Sangana, artist. But the most important loss by much is that of the date, which was dynastic. I hazard the conjecture that it corresponded to one of the early years of the twelfth century."

From this summary it appears that Professor Hall was inclined to look upon Kokalla as the same prince who is named in the Benares and Kumbhî copper-plates. But this identification seems to me to be quite impossible, and I think that the following facts are sufficient to prove that there were two Kokallas, who were separated by four intervening generations.

1 — The Kokalla of the Bilhari inscription is said to have defeated Krishna Râjâ of the south, whom I take to be Krishna Râshtrakuta, who certainly reigned about 860 to 880 A. D., as he was the fifth in descent from Dânti-Durgâ [inscription S. S. 675 = A. D. 753], and also the great grandfather of Govinda Râshtrakuta [inscription S. S. 855 = A. D. 933]. In one of the Râshtrakuta inscriptions,¹ this Krishna Râjâ is said to have married Mahâdevî, the daughter of Kokalla Râjâ of Chedi, which further confirms the early date assigned to this Kokalla, whom I will hereafter designate as Kokalla I.

2 — In another Râshtrakuta inscription² the King Jagat-rudra, son of Krishna, is stated to have married the two daughters of Sankaragana, Râjâ of Chedi, and son of Kokalla I.

3 — In a third Râshtrakuta inscription³ India Râjâ is said to have married Dvîjâmbâ, the great-grand-daughter of Kokalla I. Now, the date of India Râjâ and his queen is fixed with certainty by an inscription of their son Govinda Râjâ, in S. S. 855 = A. D. 933.

From these three inscriptions, which fix the date of his daughter, his grand-daughter, and his great grand-daughter, there can be little doubt that the Krishna Râjâ whom Kokalla I encountered must have been the Râshtrakuta prince who flourished from about 860 to 880 A. D.

There was also a fourth marriage connection of a Râshtrakuta prince with a daughter of Chedi, but the name of the lady's father, *Yuvarâjâ*, which means younger Râjâ, or heir-apparent, leaves it uncertain whether the father of the

¹ Journal of Bombay Asiatic Society, IV, 97.

² Royal Asiatic Society's Journal III, 102.

³ Bombay Asiatic Society's Journal, IV, 97.

princess Kandaka Devī was Lakshmana himself, or his younger son, each of whom bore the title of Yuvarāja Amogha Varsha, the Rāshtrakuta Rājā, was himself the great-grandson of Kokalla I, through his mother Govindāmbā, and was, therefore, of the same generation as Lakshmana. I incline rather to identify Kandakā Devī's father with Lakshmana, as her grandson Amogha Vaisha II was reigning in S S 894 = A D 972, so that she cannot well be placed later than A D 910, which is the approximate date of Lakshmana. The difference, however, amounts to one generation, or about 20 to 25 years.

The date of the second Kokalla will appear in the discussion on the later inscriptions of the Kulachuri princes.

II — KĀRITĀLAĪ INSCRIPTION

This large inscription measures 4 feet 3 inches by 3 feet 8 inches, and contains 34 lines of well-formed Kutilā characters. The stone is broken in several pieces, and the lower left-hand corner is missing, as well as some unknown portion at the top. There is no date now remaining, but the approximate date is known from the name of the King Lakshmana Rājā, the son of Yuvarāja Deva, who reigned from about A D 950 to 975.

The inscription opens with the name of Yuvarāja Deva and his minister Bhaka Misra. The son of the latter, named Someswara, became the guru of Yuvarāja's son, Lakshmana, who is said to have erected a very high building with a tall flag, "threatening the buds of heaven." The place, called *Patangu*, was on a mountain, from which flowed a river.¹ Rājā Lakshmana also bestowed 8 villages on 8 Brahmans, as follows —

To Bhannu Bhatta	Ehida
„ Mahādevi Bhatta	Chakrahudi
„ Sankua Bhatta	[Name lost]
„ Sontswua Bhatta	[Name lost]
„ Dhavalahara Bhatta	Dwādaskhānika grāma ²
„ „ „	Māladwadasa grāma
„ „ „	Sāyanavata grāma
„ Someswara Bhatta	Khariwa grāma

At the same time several other Brahmans received "eleven yokes of land."

¹ This would appear to be the same place as Patkai of the Jabalpur copper plate (No 4 inscription), from which the river Karnavati is said to flow. There is a town called *Patani*, 18 miles west north west from Jabalpur on the direct road to Sagor. Village of the "twelve names."

III —BENARES INSCRIPTION

The Benares inscription, which is engraved on two large copper-plates, was found in a well in the Rājghāt fort at Benares in the beginning of the present century. A summary of its contents was given by Wilford, but there is good reason to believe that this was inaccurate in some of its details. The copper-plates, which were lost for a long time, were re-discovered about 1862, when, through the kindness of Mr Griffith, Principal of the Benares College, I received a carefully made impression of the inscriptions, with a translation by one of the pupils of the College. During my stay in England I made over to Professor Hall both the impression and the translation, and I have now with me only a few of my own notes to refer to. From these I am able to state that the record was dated in *Samvat 793 Phālgun badī 9 Some*," which were the last words on the plate. This date was quite distinct, and it was not possible to read the figures ७९३ in any other way. I suspect that the date was read by Wilford as 193, and that he afterwards forgot that he had obtained it from the plate, as he states "the grant is dated in the second year of his new era, and also of his reign, answering to the Christian year 192"¹

Wilford's account of this inscription is given in the following extracts —

"A few years ago (in 1801), this grant was found at the bottom of an old well, filled with rubbish, in the old fort of Benares. It is engraved on two brass plates, joined by a ring, to which is affixed the imperial seal. It is of the same size, nearly, and in the same shape with that found at Monghir. The writing is also the same, or at least without any material deviation. The imperial seal is about three inches broad. On it, in bas-relievo, is Pārvatī with four arms, sitting with her legs crossed. Two elephants are represented—one on each side of her, with their trunks uplifted. Below is the bull *Nandi*, in a reclining posture, and before him is a basket. Between Pārvatī and the bull is written *Sri Karna Deva*. The grant is dated in the second year of his new era, and also of his reign, answering to the Christian year 192.

"The ancestors of *Sri Karna Deva* mentioned in the grant were, first, his father *Gāngeya Deva*, with the title of *Vijaya Kāntaka*, he died in a loathsome dungeon. He was the son of *Kohalika Deva*, whose father was *Lakshmana Rājā Deva*.

"The famous *Sri Karna Deva*, in his grant, lately found at Benares, declares that he was of the Haihaya tribe, who lived originally on the banks of the Narmadā in the district of the western *Ganda* or *Gaur*, in the province of Malwa. Their residence was at *Chauri Maheswara*, a

¹ Asiatic Researches, IX, 108

famous place of worship to this day on the Narmadâ, and built by one of his ancestors. The western Gaur was also the native country of a most respectable tribe of Brahmins called *Sandila*, who for several generations acted as prime ministers to the emperors of the *Andhra* tribe. That this was their native country is attested by Major Mackenzie in his account of the kings of *Warangal*. One of the thirty-six musical modes in India, and belonging to the superior Râga, or mode called *Mâlava*, is denominated *Gaur* from the country of *Gauda*, which was part of the province of *Mâlava*.

"For by Gauda we must not by any means understand Bengal, which, as far as I can recollect, is never thus called in any book I ever met with. Its metropolis is indeed called *Gaudi*, from the goddess of that name, who was worshipped there; hence it is with propriety called *Gaurigafha* (Gorygaga) by Ptolemy. But *Gauda*, as the name of a country, does not seem to be in the least connected with that of the goddess *Gaudi*."

These extracts agree generally with the notes which I made from the Pandit's translation already mentioned, but the original gives a longer genealogy, which most satisfactorily confirms my argument regarding the early date of the Chedi kings mentioned in the Bilhari grant. According to the Pandit's reading, the genealogy was as follows —

Kârttavîrya Deva,
from whom descended the Haihayas
|
Kokalla,
married Nandâ Devi Chandella¹
|
Prasiddha Dhavala
|
Bâla Harsha
|
[Yuvaraja Deva,
younger brother did not reign]
|
Lakshmana
|
Sankaragana
|
[Yuvaraja Deva,
younger brother did not reign]
|
Kokalla Deva,
lord of the earth
|
Gânggeya Deva
|
Karna Deva

¹ I find the name of this famous clan thus written with double l in several inscriptions.

Here, then, we see that there were actually two Kokallas, as I have already deduced from a comparison of the Chedi line of kings in the Bilhari grant with that of the Râshṭ-so-kuta princes, whose daughters intermarried with them. In both grants we find a Lakshmana Rájá, the grandson of Kokalla I, and the father of two sons named Sankaragana and Yuvarájá. It is true that the name of Mugdhatunga is widely different from Prasiddha Dhavala, but the royal fashion of having two or more names was so common at this period of Indian history, that the difference is of little moment when the names of the first, fourth and fifth generations are absolutely the same¹. In the third generation, also, Yuvárájá was the younger brother of Keyūra Vaisha, and his own name is not known, but in both plates he is made the father of Lakshmana.

I may note, also, that in both the Bilhari and Benares grants, Kokalla I is said to have warred with Bhoja Rájá. This Bhoja is not the famous Rájá of Dhar, the pet of the Brahmans, who lived about A D 1000 to 1050, but the much greater Bhoja of Kanauj, whose rule extended from the confines of Kashmír to Málwa. He is mentioned in the Rájá Taranginī as a powerful chief *adhiráj*, who had overrun the country of *Thakkiya*, from which he was expelled by Sañkara Varmma between 883 and 901 A D². He is the Bhoja Deva of the Pahewa inscription which is dated in Samvat 276, and of the Benares copper-plate inscription of his son Mahendra Pála Deva, which is dated in Samvat 315. These dates I refer to the era of Śrī Harsha [or Harsha Varddhana of Kanauj], which began in A D 607. Bhoja's date in the Pahewa inscription will, therefore, be A D 882, and that of his son, 921 A D. This Bhoja is also the hero of my Gwalior inscription, which is dated in Samvat 933, or A D 876, and lastly, he was the possessor of Eastern Málwa, as I found an inscription bearing his name in the great fort of Deogarh to the east of Chanderī, which is dated in Samvat 919, and in Saka kála 784, both in words and figures, equivalent to A D 862. It is certain, therefore, that this Bhoja Deva of Kanauj must have reigned from A D 860 to 890, and we may, therefore, safely fix his contemporary, Kokalla I, at 850 to 870 A D.

¹ Thus Krishna Raja was also called Upendra, and his grandson Vákpati was also known as Amogha Varsha and Munja.

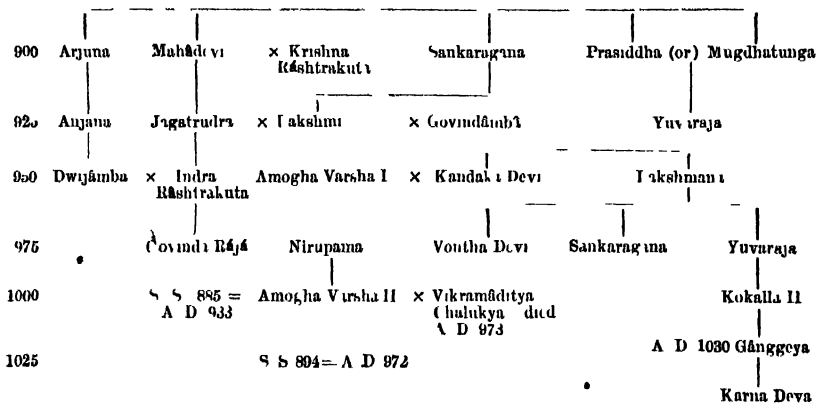
Rájá Taranginī V, v 151. *Thakkiya* must be the district called *Tekia* or *Takia* by Hwen Thsang, and the *Takkiya* which was visited by Jaisiya, son of Dāhūr, on his way from Sindh to Kashmír.

But there is still another evidence in favour of the early date of the Kulachuri princes who are recorded in the Bilhari grant. One of the composers of the inscription was Rájá Sekhara, who, as the name is an uncommon one, was most probably the poet Rájá Sekhara whose patron was Mahendra Pála Raja of Mahadaya or Kanauj. Now, I have already noted that the inscription of Mahendra Pála, the son of Bhoja Deva of Kanauj, is dated in 921 A. D., which makes him a contemporary of Lakshmana Kulachuri, the hero of the Bilhari grant. For Lakshmana was the great-grandson of Kokalla I, and was, therefore, of the same generation as India Rájá and Amogha Varsha I, the two Râshtrakuta princes whose dates are absolutely known from copper-plate inscriptions recorded in the Sâka era.

The complete accordance of the dates derived from all the inscriptions previously quoted will be best seen by placing the generations and their intermarriages side by side.

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KOKALLA I



From these lists we learn with certainty that Kokalla II was of the same generation as Amogha Varsha II Râshtrakuta, who was reigning in A. D. 972, and that he was the nephew of Vontha Devi, whose husband Vikramâditya IV Châlukya died in A. D. 973. His generation, therefore, belongs to the period about 980 to 1000 A. D. That this was his real date, we have further evidence in the fact, that his father, Yuvuraja, had fought with Vâkpati Rájá of Dhân, three of whose dates, A. D. 974, 979, and 997, are

known¹ It is also recorded that Kokalla's grandson Karna warried with Bhima Deva of Gujarât, A D 1022 to 1072, and with Bhoja Deva of Dhâr, of whom we have an inscription dated in A D 1021, and who is known to have been alive in A D 1042 But there is also an inscription of a Kokalla at Khajurâha, which is dated in Samvat 1058, or A D 1001, just two years after the death of Râjâ Dhanga Chandel It seems probable, therefore, that Kokalla II may have made a successful invasion of the Chandel territory after the accession of Ganda Râjâ, the son of Dhanga Gânggeya Deva, the son of Kokalla, probably reigned for only a short time, as nothing is recorded of him save that he died at Prayâga, or Allahabad Karna, the son of Gânggeya, may, therefore, have succeeded as early as 1020 A D, or certainly not later than 1040, which agrees exactly with the notices already quoted, which make him a contemporary of Bhima Deva of Gujarât and of Bhoja Deva of Dhâr His own inscription is dated in Samvat 793, on Monday, the 9th of the waning moon of Phâlgun But this date is no doubt reckoned according to the era adopted by the Kulachuri Râjâs of Chedi, which in other inscriptions is called sometimes the *Chedi Samvat* and sometimes the *Kulachuri Samvat*

The exact beginning of the Chedi Samvat has not yet been absolutely determined If we take the year A D 1040 as the date of his accession, the initial-point of the Chedi Samvat will be A D 249, for 793 being the second year of his reign, the difference between 792 and 1040 is 218 years By calculation, also, I find that in the year 1041 A D, or 793 of the Chedi Samvat, according to this reckoning the 9th day of *Phâlgun badî* was a Monday I find also that the same initial-point will exactly fit a second inscription from Râjûm, in which the date is specially designated as the *Kulachuri Samvat* This date is expressed as follows²—

*Kulachuri samvatsare 896 Mâgha masî
Sukla pakshê Rathashtamyam Budha dinê*

A second inscription from Scornârâyan is also dated in the *Kulachuri Samvat* in the year 898, *Aswin sudi some* A

¹ See Professor Hall in Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, XXX, p 197, for A D 974, and XIX, p 475 for A D 979

² This is the inscription noted in Asiatic Society's Researches, XV, p 505, as being dated in Samvat 796, but the first figure is clearly 8, as indeed had been suggested by Wilson

third inscription, also from Seornâîâyan, gives its date as "*Chedi Samvat 919*" And a fourth inscription from Kharod is dated in "*Chedi Samvat 933*" It is to be noted that these four inscriptions, in which the name of the era is specially distinguished as the *Chedi* or *Kulachuri Samvat* do not belong to the Chedi Haihayas of Tipuri, but to the Ratnâvali Haihayas, or eastern branch of the family which ruled over Mahâ Kosala, with Ratanpur for its capital. In all the inscriptions of the Kulachuris of Chedi that I have yet seen, the date is simply recorded as *Samvat* without any distinctive name, but, from the synchronisms which I have already brought forward, there can be no doubt that the whole of these inscriptions are dated in the Samvat which bears these names¹

IV—JABALPUR INSCRIPTION

This important inscription was engraved on two plates of copper, each 18 by 12 inches. The plates were transferred to the Nâgpur Museum, where a Nâgarî transcript was made by some one imperfectly acquainted with the characters. The first plate is still in the Museum, but the second, which contained both the date and the name of the reigning prince, has been stolen². This is the more unfortunate, as both the date and the king's name beyond all doubt have been wrongly rendered in the Nâgarî transcript. The latter is given as *Sri Mahesa Karna*, which I can correct to *Sri mad Gaya Karna*, but the date I am unable to restore. It is given in the transcript as Samvat 529, and is quoted by Mr Grant as Samvat 528, with a suspicion that it may have been wrongly read. Now Gaya Karna's grandfather, Karna Deva, began to reign in the year 792 of the Chedi Samvat, and Gaya Karna himself, who was reigning in 902 of the same era, had been succeeded by his son, Nara Simha Deva, before 907. The three generations had, therefore, just covered one whole century, and Gaya Karna's reign must be fixed from about

¹ Sir William Sleeman however, states that 'there is a stone inscribed by Raja Karna on the dedication of a temple at Jabalpur dated Samvat 943.' Journal Asiatic Society, Bengal, VI, 625, note. If the figures have been read correctly, the date must be reckoned in the Saka era which would make 943 × 78 = 1021 A. D. for Raja Karna.

² The same fatality has attended many of the inscribed copper plates in the Museum in Bengal Asiatic Society.

870 to 903 of the Chedi Samvat Perhaps 879 was the actual date on the plate

In the first plate we have the usual genealogy of the Kulachuri kings of Chedi from Yuvarájá Deva, through Kokalla [whose name was read as *Kokasya*], Gânggeya Deva, Karna Deva, and Yasa Karna Deva, the father of Gáyá Karna Deva The last words on this plate are—

*Parama bhattáraka Mahárajádhirāja
parameswara Sri Vama Deva pá—*

which are continued in the transcript of the second plate —

*dánudhyáta¹ parama bhattáraka Mahárajádhirāja Maheswara parama
maheswara trikalingádhirapati nija bhuyo parjatuswapat, gajapati,
narapati rájya tiryádhirapati Sri mad GAYA-KARNA-DEKA*

The whole of this string of titles is applied in the Kumbhi copper-plates to *Vyaya Sinha Deva*, and I may add that the first eleven *slokas* of the Kumbhi plates are word for word the same as the first eleven *slokas* of the Jabalpur plates In these, however, we have a much longer account of Yasa Karna, besides an additional *sloka* given to Karna Deva

Of Gânggeya Deva, it is said that he died at the foot of the banian tree [the famous akshay bat] at Prayága, along with 150 of his wives² His son Karna Deva built a fort named Karna Meru, from which flowed the river Karnavati (the Kiyān or Cain river) His son was Yasa Karna Deva, at whose accession the Ránis of Huna race were joyful He worshipped Bhimeswara Deva His son was Rajá Gaya Karna, who, with his queen, his son, his minister, his general, his family priest, his treasurer (and several other officials), having bathed in the Narmadā at the time of the Makar-Sankrānt on Monday, the 10th of the waning moon of Māgh in the Samvat year * * *, made a grant of the village of Patinkai in the division of Jāuk-patan (the present Jabalpur) to a Brahman named Hari Sarman, the son of Nāgo and grandson of Bhava

¹ Read as *pádānumra*

² The original words as copied by the Nagpur Pandit are—“*prapte Prayága vata mula nevesa valla, Sarddham satena grihambhira mulra mukti*” I presume that it must have been a passage similar to this which Wilford had before him in the Karna Deva inscription and which he translated as “he died in a loathsome dungeon” I suppose that he may have read *garhum* instead of *grihim*

V—YASAH-KARNA INSCRIPTION

This inscription on copper was first published by Professor Hall, with a short abstract of its contents, which contains all that is worth preserving¹—

“We are here told,” he says, “that in Anno Vikī 1177, corresponding to A. D. 1120, a transfer of landed interest was made in presence of King Govinda Chandra of Kanauj, and his court. The property that exchanged hands, the village of Karanda, and the *talla* of Karanda, in the *pattali* of Antarâla, passed from the possession of Bhat-târaka Rudrasiva, a royal chaplain, into that of the Thikkur Vasishtha Rudrasiva, it is stated, was invested with his estate by Raja Yasahkarna. It can scarcely be questioned that this was the ruler of Chedi, and how could the king of Kanauj have had authority, save as the result of conquest, over soil which was once under his control?”

Professor Hall is, no doubt, right in identifying this Raja Yasahkarna with the king of Chedi, as the two kingdoms of Kanauj and Chedi were contemporaneous for a long distance, somewhere about the latitude of Rewa. As the grant is said to have been made to the very person who transfers it, we have a limit to the period by which Yasahkarna's grant must have preceded its transfer. It may be accepted, I think, as quite certain, that Rudrasiva, the family priest, was not under 30 years of age when he received the grant, and as very nearly certain that he was not over 60 years when he made the transfer. Raja Yasahkarna of Chedi must therefore have been reigning within 30 years of A. D. 1120, or in A. D. 1090, which agrees with the period which I have already assigned to him on other evidence, from A. D. 1070 to 1100.

The district of Antarâla, in which Karanda was situated, I believe to be the country immediately to the east of Rewa, or the “included space” [Antarâla], lying between the Kaimur hills on the south, and the nameless range which bounds the right bank of the Tons river. This valley is contemporaneous with the Kantil district of Muzapur, which must always have belonged to the Râthois of Kanauj. The Antarâla here mentioned is, perhaps, the same district as the *Antarapatta* of Raja Hastin's inscription, as the country about Rewa must almost certainly have formed part of his dominions.

¹ Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal,—XXXI,—p. 124

VI —TEWAR INSCRIPTION

This inscription, which is only $14\frac{3}{4}$ inches by 13 inches, is engraved on a light-green stone. The letters are small, and are generally in good order. It mentions Gaya Karna as the reigning king, and his son Nara Sinha Deva as the Yuva Raja, or heir apparent. I read the date as 902 of the Chedi Samvat. The word *sat* is spelt with the wrong *s*, but as it is preceded by *nava*, "nine," and is followed by the name of the month and day, there can be no doubt that it is intended for *sat*, or "hundred."

The inscription simply records that in the time of Raja Gaya Karna Deva, and his son Nara Sinha Deva, the Yuva Raja, a certain Brahman, named Bhava-brahma, built a temple to Mahadeva, and that Puthivi-dhara, the son of Dharanidhara composed the inscription. The date is discussed in another place. I read it as Wednesday (Budhe), the 1st of Jyeshtha Sudi, Samvat 902 (of the Chedi era).

VII —BHERA-GHAT INSCRIPTION

We are fortunate in having a complete translation of this inscription by the competent pen of Professor Hall¹. It is dated in the year 907 of the Chedi Samvat, and records the building of a temple to Siva under the name of *Indu Mauli*, or "Moon-crested," under the name of Vaidyanatha, together with a *matha*, or cloister, and a *vyakhānasāla*, or "hall of learning," with gardens, attached to the temple. I have already discussed the probability of this temple being the present Chaunsat Jogini of Bhera Ghāt. I have also a strong suspicion that the name of *Bhera Ghāt* may have been derived from that of *Vaidyanātha*. In speaking of the bathing place, the name would certainly have been shortened, by the omission of *nātha*, to *Bardya-Ghāt* which might easily have been corrupted to the present form of Bhera, or Bheda Ghāt. Queen Alhanā Devi, the builder, was the widowed queen of Gaya Karna Deva. Her father was Raja Vijaya Sinha, Ruler of Mewār, who married Syāmalā Devi, the daughter of Udayāditya, king of Mālwa. She was therefore a direct representative of two of the most famous royal families of mediæval India, the Gohulas of Mewār and the Pramāras of Mālwa. Her marriage with Gaya Karna shows

¹ American Oriental Society Journal, — VI, — p. 509

that the Kulachuris of Chedi were of equal social rank with the highest Rajput races

Two villages are mentioned as having been made over for the maintenance of the temple. One named *Undi* in the canton of Jâuli, is most probably the present village of *Undia*, five miles to the south-south-west of Bhera Ghât. There is, however, another village named *Emteea* in the map, which is only one mile and a half to the south-east of Bhera Ghât, which may perhaps dispute the claim of Undia. The second village called *Makarapataka*, situated at the base of the hills to the south of the Narmodâ, I have failed to identify.

As this inscription relates the genealogy of the Kulachuris from Kokalla downwards, and is mainly devoted to an account of their exploits and marriages, I will here give the full translation made by Professor Hall —

“Om! Glory to Siva!”

“1 May the lunar digit on the brow of the Moon-bedecked, which digit, though but one and individual, yet even in the absence of evening, constantly begets the conviction, as pertains to the opulent in attendants, that it is the second, augment your prosperity, and preserve it unimpaired!”

“2 May the ranges of sacred watering-boothes—chafed by the creeping and leaping waves of the celestial river which meanders on the head of Siva—protect you. Is it lines of white lotuses that present themselves? Or divisions of the moon? Or gems of virtuous deeds? Or else, the sloughs of serpents? Or, again, eruptions of ashes? Thus are they made the subject of speculation by the immortals.

“3 That which is a pure pervading element, that by whose revolutions the earth is illuminated, that which imparts happiness to the eyes of the world, that which is the cause of diversity among savors and the like, whose inhesis is in the terrene, that which is a receptacle surcharged with odor, he that sacrifices, that which is absolutely cold, and that which is tactile, but devoid of color may Siva, by virtue of these material forms, defend you.

“4 May Nilâkantha—exulting, by the display of his javelin and battle-axe, affection in his votaries, the smeared with camphor, and exultant in his dance—confer on you all objects of desire.

“5 May the Elephant-faced—countersinking ivory whiter than the jessamin, in bearing a lunar fragment potent to dispel the darkness of multitudinous impediments, and free from the smallest stain—compassionately accord to you supreme felicity.

6 “May Saraswati—practising, with manifold elocution, all her devices, and by employing though but the minutest rudiment of whose blandishments, men inspire, in assemblies, the highest reverence—support you

7 " In the lunar line there was a sovereign, by name Arjuna possessor of a thousand arms, a fire by night and day, in subduing the hearts, one after another, of all dwellers in the three worlds, by his effulgence putting contempt on other monarchs, and, by the recollection of whom, things long ago lost, or taken by thieves, are even to this day recovered

8 " Among his descendants arose Kakalla Deva, a famous lord of earth, whose story, though most wonderful, is yet not mythical, wearing a majestic aspect, and whose name, invoked, was the sole resort that produced joy to the triple universe

9 " From him sprung King Gāngeya Deva, who, by the discomfiture of hostile princes, sustaining huge mountains of pride, acquired infinite distinction, and who, an all-bestowing tree to suppliants, as making Mount Meru unworthy of similitude, placed this earth, though lying below, above elysium, and rendered it a fit habitation for the gods

10 " The vine of whose renown—a vine sprinkled with the nectar of meritorious achievements, and promotive of pure excellence—expanded itself over the entire pavilion of the cosmic egg

11 " Of him—who replenished with gold the ocean of importunities of his crowd of petitioners, and of coveted celebrity—was born King Karna

12 " Which king, unprecedented in splendour, maintaining the full energy of heroism, the Pândya discontinued violence, the Mûrâla renounced all inclination of arrogance, the Kanga negotiated an audience, the Vanga, with the Kalingas, was solicitous to do thereafter, the Kîra, like a parrot, stayed in his house, as a cage, and the Hûna dismissed his elation

13 " Princes at variance with him, whose consorts severally thus protested ' This whole country, which he enjoys in consequence of the defeat of our lords, will we, as it were, diminish to view for that, by the tears springing from our eyes, we have made great the seas, and we have, moreover, aggrandized them by the surpassing water of our jewels '

14 " From him the illustrious Yasah Karna derived his honorable origin who lighted up the circuit of the quarters with the moon of the fame which accrued to him from devastating Chanpâ-ranya, whose heart was free from crookedness, pre-eminent esteem, enriched them by his munificence

15 " From him a treasure of the perfection of all virtues, inscrutable, sprung King Gaya Karna Deva, the very sun of whose grandeur availed to bring about the uprising of a sea of desolation to the wives of his foes

16 " A monarch was he, who, in brightness of complexion, outvalued ornament, who was a cornucopia of probity, a garland of diffusive merits, the one destroyer of the hordes of his enemies, of unsullied splendour in battle, restraining the wicked by his beaming glory, and whose sword was of the keenest

" The race of the sons of Gobhila is of note among the nations Therein was born King Hansapâla, by whose thronging armaments equipped with gallantry, and irresistible the marshalled squadrons of all combined antagonists were humiliated

18 "The issue of his body was the fortunate King Vairisinha, whose feet were tinged by the reflection of the head-gems in the frontlets of all tributary chieftains, prostrate in act of fealty, a repository of faultless wisdom, but not, indeed, an asylum to imperious suitors

19 "He, Vairisinha, moreover, consigned the kinsmen of his adversaries to the recesses of deep caverns, and entering in person, caused that their women neglected their tresses altogether

20 "Of him was born King Vijayasinha, the good fortune of whose foes was overborne by the pressure of his comeliness and chivalry deserving the congratulations of all the people, and the moon of whose glory was waxing in the world continually

21 "Syamalâ Devi, the beauteous daughter of Udayâditya, supreme ruler of the realm of Malâva, was his consort, a talisman of bountiful counsels, and lauded for her elegance

22 "Of him King Vijayasinha, equal to the custody of the world, was borne by her, Alhanâ Devi, in presentment the spotless, fluttering pennon of her long descended lineage as the wife of Sankara had her origin from the Master of mountains, by Meni, and as the spouse of Sûbhrabânû sprang from Daksha, creator of the human family by Vênu

23 "King Gaya Karna, celebrating nuptial rites with her, bestowed on her the highest affection, even as Sankara on Siva

24 "She a mansion of erotic sentiment, the pinnacle-ball of accomplishments, a wreath of loveliness, the emporium of excellencies, brought forth, by King Gaya Karna, a son, King Narasinha Deva

25 "Of him, the prosperous King Narasinha Deva, may the refulgent moon of glory as it were imbue the walls of the directions with grateful store of refreshing nectar And may the earth, obtaining in him a fitting protector, thus enjoy content, as that of foregone mighty monarchs it shall take no slightest thought

26 "May his younger brother Jayasinha Deva in wondrous wise doing honor to his brother, the first-born, like as fu Rama regard was had, by Saumitri,—be eminently victorious, who strong-armed, defeated his enemies' hosts, strepitant as thundering clouds, teeming with strategy, and comprising warriors of most stalworth frames
Biavo!

27 "That lady the open-handed Alhanâ Devi, mother of the happy Narasinha Deva, occasioned this sanctuary of Indumauli to be erected, and this cloister, with its admirable pavement

28 "The same by the agency of her commissioners constructed this hall of learning and line of gardens, wanting for nothing, in two ranges attached to the temple of Sâmbhu

29 "To this divinity, entitled Vaidyanâtha, the queen—to the end that her good deeds might be blazoned set—apart the village known by the name of Undî in the canton of Jâuli, with all the dues exigible therefrom

30 "In like manner she appropriated another village, called Makarapâataka, situated at the base of the hills, on the south bank of Narmadâ

31 "Let the auspicious Rudhārāsī, a Pāsūpata ascetic, of the Lāta race, and his heirs spiritual, fitly administer the duties of the charge of this establishment, till Sāmbhu shall mete out the duration of the spheres

32 "In the family of Maunin connected with three branches, those of Bhārgava, Vaitahavya, and Savetasī was born of Maheshwara so called one Dharanīdhara by name, a person of worship, repute, and good presence

33 "By whom adorned with seemly radiance as his frontlet, replete with exuberance of exalted tenderness, and whose gratifying condition long endured the three worlds were, so to speak, irradiated

34 "His son Prithvidhara—who has scanned the further shore of the profound main of all science, and whose concourse of disciples has conquered scholastically the round of quarters—transcribed this encomium

35 "His Prithwidhara's younger brother, of singular skill among such as are conversant in logic, the learned Sāsīdhara, as was his appellation, composed this memorial

36 "All this the artificer called Pīthe, proficient in the ordinance of Viswakarman, has regulated, as Pīthu disposed the earth

37 "Mahādhara, son of the chief craftsman, Bālasinha, wrought this stone with characters, as the firmament is bestrown with stars, Sunday, the 11th day of the light fortnight of Māṅga, in the year 907 "

VIII—BHARHUT INSCRIPTION

This inscription is valuable, as showing that the rule of the Kulachuri Kings extended certainly as far north as Bharhut, about half-way between Jabalpur and Allahabad. The first four lines of the inscription give the titles of Narasinha Deva in exactly the same words as are applied to his father Gaya Karna Deva on the Jabalpur copper plates, and to his nephew Vijaya Sinha on the Kumbhi copper-plates.¹ The following is the text of the record which contains several mistakes such as *battaraka* and *Buddhe* for *bhattaraka* and *Budhe*, and others, which show that the inscriber was probably ignorant as well as careless

1—Swasti Sī purī bhātāraka maharājadhīraj pāmeswara Sī

2—Vāma deva padanuddhiyatī purāma bātāraka mahā maharājadhī ya pāra

3—meswara purī maheswara Trī Kāṇḍadhipatī nujī bhūgo pāpita A

4—Swapatī, Gajapati Nara-pati raja tiryādhipatī Suman NARA

5—SINHA DEVA charanah Vidyava gramakasya mahara

6—ja putra Sī KESAVADITYA putra BALLALA DEVA kasya bāhah

7—Samvat 909 Sravana Sudi 5 Buddhc

In a separate line below are the words;

Rāt Sri Ballāla Deva The record was engraved by order of Prince Ballāla Deva, the son of Kesavāditya and grandson of Rājā Nara-Sinha Deva

¹ Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, VIII, 483

IX—TEWAR INSCRIPTION

This inscription is now deposited in the Nâgpur Museum. It measures 2 feet 8 inches by 1 foot 10 inches, and contains 27 lines of closely packed letters, but the whole is so weather-worn as to be in many parts quite illegible, and in others very difficult to decipher. It was seen by Professor Hall in Jabalpur, who gives the following account of it¹—

"When passing through the station of Jabalpur in February of last year [1858], I found in the museum at that place a somewhat weather-worn inscription, hitherto unedited, of the same class as those which precede. Unhappily I had neither leisure nor health to take a copy of it. The date it bears is Samvat 926."

Samvat Shadrasatyuttara narasatâbdepi 926

Its poet was Sisihara, son of Dharanidhara, and it makes mention of Namudeva, son of Mahidhara, as a *Sutradhara*. Three of these names we have met with in the record of 907. At the foot of the stone, the ensuing benediction, in the Arya measure, is legible without difficulty.

Yâvat sâryâchandran yâtâyatam nabhasthe tapatali tâvat
kîrtanametat kîrtayi kartuh sthnam chuyât

"As long as the sun and moon, going and returning, shall shine in the firmament, so long may this eulogy endure, conducting to the renown of the doer of the transaction herein memorialized."

I have found the name of *Jaya Sinha Deva* in both the 24th and 25th lines, and the tribal name of *Kulachuri-Kula* in the middle of the 13th line. A more minute examination would no doubt reveal other names of the rulers of Chedi, but the result would hardly repay the trouble.

X—TEWAR INSCRIPTION

Both the discovery and the translation of this short inscription are due to Professor Hall². It is dated in the year 928 [of the Chedi Samvat] while Nara Sinha Deva was still reigning. The record is so short that I may give its translation in full—

1—"We render homage to the supreme Brahman, who is intellect and felicity, adored by Brahman and the other inferior deities, Mahadeva, god of gods, parent of the world.

2—"The son of the fortunate King Gayâ Karna, the auspicious King Nara Sinha Deva, has conquered the earth. May the fortunate Jaya Sinha Deva, his younger brother, long be triumphant."

¹ American Oriental Society's Journal, VI, 533.
American Oriental Society's Journal, VI, 513.

3 —“ Kesava, son of the late Aladeva Astaka, the Brahman so called, procured this temple of Iswara to be constructed

“In the year 928 Sunday, the 6th day of the light fortnight of Śiâvana, the moon being in the asterism Hastâ

“Family name of Kesava the collector Kâtyânî, his residence, the village of Sikha, in Malavaka ”

This inscription is valuable for its date, as we learn from another inscription dated in S 932, that both Nara Sinha and his brother Jaya Sinha had died in the short interval of four years. But that Jaya outlived his brother and reigned for a brief period, we learn from the following inscription .

XI —TEWAR INSCRIPTION

This nearly perfect inscription is 3 feet 6 inches long by 1 foot 8 inches broad, and contains 21 lines. It is unfortunately broken right across near the middle, but the fracture is so clean that very few, if any, of the letters are lost. It opens with the usual invocation to Siva and ends with the words *Kṛtastya nyateh*. The genealogy opens with the descent of the *Kulachuri* kings from Atin, but the details begin with Yuva Râja Deva, after whom follow Kokalla, Gângeya Deva, Kaina Deva, Yasah Karna, Gayâ Karna, Nara Sinha and his brother Jaya Sinha. The inscription was recorded during the reign of Jaya Sinha, who is called *Śūmān Mahatīy Jaya Sinha Deva* in one place and *Kṣhitipati* and *Nripati* in others. The genealogy of *Alhanâ Devi*, the queen of Gayâ Karna, is the same as that recorded in the Bhera Ghât inscription, but the wording is somewhat different. In that record her mother Syâmalâ Devi is called the daughter of Udayaditya, king of Mâlava,

Mâlavamandalâdhimathodayâditya-suta,
while in the present inscription she is said to be the
“daughter of Udayâditya, lord of Dhâra,”

. *Dhârâdhimodayaditya-sutâ* .

We thus learn that Dhâra, and not Ujain, was the capital of Udayâditya

I cannot find any date, nor do I see the name of Vijaya Sinha Deva, the son of Jaya Sinha, who, as we know from the Kumbhî inscription, had already succeeded his father in the year 932 of the Chedi era. The date of the present record is therefore fixed between the narrow limits of the four years 928 to 932

XII—TEWAR INSCRIPTION

This inscription, on a dark reddish-brown stone, is in two pieces, measuring 2 feet 4 inches in breadth by 2 feet in height. But each piece is imperfect at the top, and on one side, what remains is in fair order, and consists of 25 lines, wanting at both beginning and end. I have, however, managed to make out that it was a record of Jaya Sinha Deva during his short reign, which was limited between the years 928, when his elder brother Nara Sinha was still reigning, and 932, when we know that his son Vijaya Sinha Deva had ascended the throne. I find the name of Śrī Yasahka [rāja Deva] in the 11th line, but that of Śrīmān Jaya [Sinha Deva] had already appeared in the 7th line, and in the 16th line he is distinctly entitled king [nripatī],

Samāra Sahasra Jayī Jaya Sinha Deva nripatirjayati
Further, in the 18th line I find his son's name—

Jayastu Vijaya Sinha

This record may therefore be placed about the year 930 of the Chedi Samvat.

XIII—TEWAR INSCRIPTION

The only notice of this inscription is due to Professor Hall¹. He found two undeciphered inscriptions in the Jabalpur museum—

“But both too nearly worn out ever to be read in their entirety. The later, dated in the year 931 of an unknown era, exhibits the names of king Gayā Karna, of Sasidhara, pandit and poet, and of the engraver Nāma Deva, of Mahidhara.”

As I could not find any trace of this inscription at Jabalpur, I conclude that it must have been removed to the Nagpur museum, where, however, I failed to find it.

XIV—KUMBHI INSCRIPTION

The text and translation of this inscription were first published in 1839, but the reading was so full of errors that its revision was happily undertaken by Professor Hall in 1862². According to my information, the two copper-plates on

¹ Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, 1861, p. 323, note.

² See Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, Vol. VIII, pp. 483-488, and Vol. XXXI, p. 111.

which the inscription is engraved were found at Kochnâr, a small village $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile from Kumbhî, on the Heran or Hiran-yavati river. They are said to have been a pair of small plates and to have been discovered by a Kurmî Zamindar when digging a *koh*, or grain-pit, outside his house. I heard also that a second pair of large copper-plates were found about 1865 by a Baisakhî Kol. They had no ring or seal. It seems probable that the last pair were the Jabalpur plates which I have already described.

As the Kumbhî inscription is rather a long one, I gladly avail myself of Professor Hall's abstract, which contains all that is worth preserving for historical purposes.

"The inscription begins with a doxology to Vishnu, to the lotus of his navcl, to Brahma, who originated therefrom, to Brahmâ's son Atri, and to the moon which emanated from one of Atri's eyes. From the moon, by a daughter of the sun, sprung Bodhana, and from him was born Purûravas, who had to wife Urvasi and Earth. Among the descendants of Purûravas was Bharata. To him the Haihayas traced their origin, and from these came Kûtavîya, the founder of the family of Kulachuri. To this family belonged the last dynasty that dominated over Chedi."

"Beginning with Yuvarâja, father of Kokalla, and ending with Ajaya Sinha, her apparent, the line of kings recorded in the inscription is so well known that their names need not be repeated. Of their family we are here furnished with a few facts, additional to those which I have detailed on former occasions. Gângeya died at Prayaga or Allahabad, and we are led to infer that his wives, amounting in round numbers to a hundred, underwent cremation with the mortal remains of their lord. Kaina built the city of Karnavati. The consort of Gayâkarna or Gayakarna was Albanâ, and that of Vijaya Sinha was Gosalâ. The appellations of these two ladies have hitherto been misrepresented."

"A crown-village Chodlâyî, in the pattalâ of Sambala, is transferred by the relicue under notice, a legal document. The donor is Gosalâ, on the part of her son Ajaya Sinha, a minor. The donee is a learned Brahman, one Sidha, son of Chhuktû, son of Sûlhana, son of Janâdîra. Six royal functionaries are enumerated in the grant, and the official designations are added of three more whose names are not specified."

"The present inscription is, by one year, the latest, as yet brought to light, published by the Haihaya rulers in Central India. We learn from it, that the capital of those potentates, from the very first, was Tripurî, and that their kingdom, so long as they are known to have possessed it, was called Chedi. We find it set forth that "in that Kulachuri family was a monarch, eminent among the just, His Majesty Yuvarâja,—a young lion in destroying odour-bearing elephants, a pride-blind king,—who sanctified Tripurî, resembling the city of Purandara."

In the 23rd verse of this inscription we have the distinct announcement, that Jaya Sinha had succeeded his brother on the throne of Chedi—

Sri Jaya Sinha Deva nrpati āgyabhishekam nrpa

Here we have not only the title of king (*nrpa*), but a proof of his inauguration or coronation in the term '*abhisheka*' The grant was made during the reign of his son Raja Vijaya Sinha in the year 932 of the Chedi Samvat, Prince Ajaya Sinha being the heir-apparent

XV —GOPALPUR INSCRIPTION

The first notice of this inscription is also due to Professor Hall, who was informed that the tablet was broken in an attempt to remove it¹ It is still at Gopālpur, a village 2 miles to the south-east of Bhera Ghât, where my copies were taken The stone is 4 feet 6 inches in length by 1 foot 9 inches in breadth, and contains 21 lines It is very much injured in the lesser half, which forms the left side, and in the right half it is in many places weather-worn and indistinct Professor Hall gives some portions of the text, on which he remarks—

"Here we have the names of Arjuna, the thousand-armed, of Kulachurni, Karni, Yasuh, Kuna, Jaya Sinha, Gosali, and Vijaya Sinha, and these names indicate that the inscription is Chedi, and of nearly the same date with that of the inscription printed at large from Kumbhi"

It has no date, as noticed by Professor Hall, but the name of *Sri Vijaya Sinha Deva Nrpa*, which occurs in the 16th line, shows that it cannot be earlier than the year 932 of the Chedi era

XVI —TEWAR INSCRIPTION

This is only a fragment of an inscription on a dark-green stone, found at one of the stone-cutter's houses in Tewar It is only 10 inches long and 8 inches broad, with parts of eleven lines of inscription, including a part of the first line It is broken on both sides I notice it here, because some one hereafter may chance to find other pieces, which would help to complete it I see the name of Thipura in the 7th

¹ Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal XXXI, 113 and VIII, 483

line, and of Sinhapura in the 8th line I find also the name of Bhîma Pâla and of Mahâ Samudra in the 4th line The characters are a little more than half inch in height, and of the square form usually found in the later inscriptions of Nara Sinha and his brother Jaya Sinha

From all these inscriptions I have compiled the following genealogy of the Kulachuri Rajas of Chedi, beside which, for the sake of ready reference and comparison, I have arranged the genealogies of the kings of all the neighbouring countries, including the Râhtois of Kanauj, the Pramâras of Mâlwa, the Gobhulas of Mewâr, and the Chandels of Mahoba On the left I have given the approximate dates at the rate of 25 years for each generation, and under each name I have placed the actual dates of the Christian era In the three known instances of long reigns, those of Govinda Râthoi, Bhoja Pramâra, and Dhanga Chandella, there is some discrepancy when compared with the approximate dates, but it will be seen that these are speedily rectified in succeeding generations

Approximate dates by generations	Kings of Kanauj	Pramâras of Mâlwa	Gobhulas of Mawâr	Kulachuris of Chedi	Chandellas of Mahoba
A D					
875	Bhoja Deva I			Kokalla I	Râhila
900	Mahendra Pala	Krishna		Mukhdhatunga	Hirsha
925	Bhoja Deva II	Vuri Sinha		Yuvaraja	Yaso Varma
950	Vinayak Pala Deva	Siyaka		Iakshmana	Dhanga
975		Vâkpati		Yavargi	Gonda
1000		Bhoja	Hansa I Pala	Kokalla II	Vidyadhara
1025		Udayaditya	Vuri Sinha	Gangay Deva	Vijaya
	REIGNS				
1050		Syamala Devi	I Vijaya Sinha	Karna Deva	Kirtti Varma
1075	Chandra Deva		Alhana Devi	Yasah Karna	Sillakshana
1100	Madana Pala		Married x	Gaya Karna	Jaya Varma
1125	Govinda Chandra		Nara Sinha Deva	Jaya Sinha Deva	Prithvi Varma
1150	Vijaya Chandra			Vijaya S D	Madana Varma
1175	Jaya Chandra			Ajaya S D	Paramardi Deva
1200					

A comparison of this list with that previously given of the intermarriages between the Kulachuris and Râshtrakutas will most fully establish the approximate dates which I

have assigned to the Kulachuri kings. Perhaps a somewhat higher rate than 25 years per generation might be allowed, but after a rather extensive scrutiny I have found that 25 years is as nearly as possible the exact average of an Indian generation. Out of 16 families, counting 141 generations, the total duration was 3,442 years, which gives an average of 24.41 years to each generation. The means vary from 20.25 years to 28.75 years. Occasionally there may be three or four long generations, as amongst the Mughals from Akbar's accession in 1556 to Aurangzeb's death in 1707, there were four generations, covering 151 years, which gives the very high average of $37\frac{1}{4}$ years to a generation. But these four reigns were very exceptional, as Akbar was only 13 years old when he ascended the throne, and Aurangzeb was nearly 90 years old when he died, and the true average was obtained after the next 12 years, when two more generations had disappeared, so that six generations had passed away in 163 years, giving only 27 years to each. I am therefore satisfied that the rate of 25 years is a very near average whenever the number of generations exceeds five or six.

The following notes regarding the kings of Chedi are taken partly from their own inscriptions, and partly from those of the neighbouring princes, with whom they fought or formed alliances. The information thus obtained is not very extensive, but it covers a long period of the history of Central India, of which little or nothing was previously known. It is, however, both exact and trustworthy, two rare qualities in early Indian history.

The *Kulachuris*, or *Kalachuris*, for the name is written both ways, claim to be descended from the Moon through Ati and Yadu. They are, therefore, Somvansi Yādavas. From Yadu was descended Hahaya, who gave his name to the Hahayas, and from him Kārtavīya, who in every inscription is stated to be the founder of the *Kulachuri* family. The origin of this name is quite unknown, but it is undoubtedly old, as it is found in an inscription of the Chālukyas as early as the reign of Mangala, or Mangalisa, the son of Pulakesi before A. D. 550. This king boasts of having overcome Buddha Raja, the son of Sankaragana. The latter name is a rare one, and the only other examples of it known to me are in the Kulachuri family. But as a later inscription of the Chālukyas describes the fierce Mangalisa as "ravishing the power of the Kulachuris like a

thunderbolt," there can be little doubt that the two names of Sankaragana and Buddha belong to the Kulachuri dynasty of Chedi. In a third inscription the Châlukyas claim to have acquired the kingdom of the princes of the Kulachuri dynasty.

But the kingdom of the Kulachuris must have been established at least three centuries before the time of Mangalisa Châlukya, as the dates of their inscriptions all refer to a period close to A. D. 249 as the initial point of the *Kulachuri*, or *Chedi*, *Samvat*. The inscription of Mangalisa is dated at full length, but the numeral word is unfortunately doubtful. It was read as *chahatawa* by General Legrand Jacob, but I think it must be intended for *Chaturtha Samvatsara*, the 4th year, which would be about A. D. 533. We thus get a glimpse of the Kulachuris just three centuries after their first establishment, and then all becomes dark again for about three centuries more, when Kokalla Deva I appears upon the scene. But from his time until the Muhammadan conquest, a period of nearly four hundred years, we have a very complete genealogy of the family.

1—*Kokalla Deva I*. His name is placed at the head of the detailed genealogy in both the Bilhari and Benares inscriptions. In the latter he is said to have married Nanda Devi Chandellâ, and in both he is stated to have warred with Bhoja Deva, who is called a Raja of the West. The Bilhari stone also makes him war with Krishna Raja in the South.¹ The former prince I have identified with Bhoja Deva I of Kanauj, whose date ranges from A. D. 860 to 900. His earliest inscription, which is engraved on a temple pillar in the great fort of Deoguh near Chanderi, is dated in Samvat 919, in figures only, and also in Saka Kâla 784, both in words and in figures. Both dates correspond with A. D. 862. His next inscription is engraved inside a rock temple in the fort of Gwahar. It is dated in Samvat 933 both in words and figures, equivalent to A. D. 876.² A third inscription is at Pahewa, or Prithudaka, to the west of Thanesar. This is dated in the year 276, which, as Bhoja was a king of Kanauj, I have referred to the era of Harsha Vardhana of Kanauj beginning with 607 A. D. The date of this inscription will therefore be 882 A. D. A fourth inscrip-

¹ Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, XXX, p. 321 and p. 325, sloka 17.
Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, XXXI, 398.

tion of his son Mahendra Pála Deva, on a copper-plate found at Benares, bears the date of S 315, which referred to the Harsha era, places Mahendra in A D 921, and his father Bhoja about A D 900

Bhoja Raja is also mentioned in the Raja Tarangini as having overrun the country of Thakkiya in the Panjáb about the beginning of the reign of Sankara Varmma of Kashmir—883 to 901 A D Thakkiya is no doubt the same district as the *Táki* of Hwen Thsang, close to Sangala in the Panjáb, and the Tákiya of the Sindh chronicles, which was visited by Jaisiya, son of Dáhir, on his way from Sindh to Kashmir As lord of the Eastern Panjáb and the district of Thanesar, Bhoja Deva of Kanauj was fully entitled to be styled lord of the West But I believe that *the west* in the notice of Kokalla's fight with Bhoja refers simply to the direction from which Bhoja advanced The fort of Deogarh near Chanderi, in which was found Bhoja's inscription of A D 862, lies 150 miles to the north-west of Tewar or Tripura In this direction therefore the two kings may have come into conflict at any time between A D 860 and 900

With regard to Krishna Raja of the south, I have already noted that he must be identified with Krishna II Râshtrakuta, who is recorded in another inscription to have married Mahâdevi, the daughter of Kokalla¹ This is shown conclusively in the first table giving the intermarriages of the Kulachuris and Râshtrakutas Now, Krishna's date can be fixed with some certainty to the period between 870 and 890 A D by the ascertained dates of the inscriptions of Govinda Raja and Amoghavarsha II The first was his great-grandfather, whose date is A D 808, the second was his great-grandson whose date is A D 933 The interval is 125 years, which gives nearly 21 years to each prince, and assigns Krishna to the period between 871 and 892 A D

The reign of Kokalla I as derived from the dates of his contemporaries Bhoja and Krishna, may therefore be fixed with certainty to the period between 860 and 900 A D

2 — *Mugdhatunga* is the name of Kokalla's son and successor in the Bilhari inscription, but in the Benares copper-plate he is called Prasiddha Dhavala The two names, however, must belong to the same person, as in each record he is

made the grandfather of Lakshmana, and the great-grandfather of Sankaragana and Yuvarāja. The exploit related of Mugdhatunga is that "he wrested Pālī from the lord of Kosala." The approximate date of his reign will be A. D. 900 to 925. To Mugdhatunga's reign must be assigned the loss of the two districts of Râlā and Rodapādi, as recorded in an inscription at Bhilsa discovered by Professor Hall, who gives the following abstract of its contents —

"Kaundinya, entitled Vâchaspati, was premier of a Raja Krishna, and dwelt on the Vetravati. After discomfiting the lord of Chedi by slaying a *Sabara*, named Sinha, probably the Chedian generalissimo, he established the district of Râlā, and Rodapādi, which also seems to denominate a district."

The home of the minister on the Vetravati, or Betwa River, proves that the country was Mâlwa, and that the king was Krishna Piamāia. As he was the great-grandfather of Vâkpati Piamāia, whose known dates are A. D. 974 and 993, his own date must be fixed approximately about 75 years earlier, or in A. D. 900 to 925, which will make him a contemporary of Mugdhatunga. Other children of Kokalla were Sankaragana, Arjuna, and Mahādevi. But as the first is distinctly called Raja of Chedi, he was probably the elder son, who left no male issue, and was thus succeeded by his younger brother Mugdhatunga.

3 — *Keyuravarsha* in the Bilhari inscription is the son and successor of Mugdhatunga. In the Benares plate, however, the grandson of Kokalla is called *Bāla Harsha*, but this is very probably the same name imperfectly deciphered. The queen of this prince was *Nahalā* of the Chalukya family. She erected a temple to Siva, and gave for its support several villages, of which one named *Pondi* still exists 4 miles to the north-west of Bilhari. A second village named *Khailapātaka* is most probably now represented by *Khailwāra*, 6 miles east-north-east of Bilhari. The identification of these two villages in such close neighbourhood to Bilhari is sufficient to prove that the inscription transcribed by Professor Hall was actually brought from Bilhari, as he was informed. The reign of Keyurā Varsha must be assigned approximately to A. D. 925 to 950. According to the Benares plate Yuva Rāja was the younger brother of Bāla Harsha, and Lakshmana was his son. This is the Yuva Rāja whose daughter Kandakā Devī was married to Amoghā Varsha I. Rāshtrakuta, which agrees with the

genealogies, as both were descendants in the third generation from Kokalla I

4—*Lakshmana* was the son and successor of Keyāra-varsha, following the Bilhari inscription, but his nephew according to the Benares plate His father Yuvarāja having died early, Lakshmana is said to have conquered the Rāja of Kosala, and to have invaded Orissa, from which he brought away a figure of the serpent Kāliya, which he consecrated to Siva in the famous temple of Someswara, or Somanātha in Surashtrā, where he had previously dedicated a car He is also stated to have appointed a holy person named Hridaya-siva to the service of Queen Nohalā's temple

To Lakshmana must be assigned the construction of the fine large tank at Bilhari, named Lakshman Sāgar The people of Bilhari also attribute the ruins of a palace to Rāja Lakshmana, who, as they informed me, lived 900 years ago This would place him in A D 970, which agrees exactly with the approximate date of A D 950 to 975 which I have computed for him by the recorded generations of his dynasty

According to one of the Chālukya inscriptions, Vikramāditya IV married Vonthā Devi, daughter of Lakshmana, Rāja of Chedi desa Now, this king died in A D 973, which confirms the approximate date of 950 to 975 which I have assigned to Lakshmana

5—*Yuvarāja*, according to both inscriptions above quoted, was the younger son of Lakshmana, the elder being Sankaragana The Bilhari inscription was recorded during the reign of Lakshmana, but the later record from Benares gives the crown to Yuvarāja As he was the father of Kokalla II he is the same prince with whom so many of the later inscriptions begin their genealogies

Amongst the inscriptions preserved in the great temple at Udaypur to the north of Bhilsa, there is one of Rāja Bhoja Piamāra, which relates that Vākpati, the uncle of Bhoja, "defeated Yuvarāja and took possession of Tripura" Now, Vākpati's date is known to include A D. 973 and 994, which is the very period, 975-1000, which I have already assigned to Yuvarāja by reckoning the generations of his own family

6—*Kokalla II* was the son and successor of Yuvarāja Nothing special is related of him He was a great warrior, and the progress of his arms was only stopped on the shores of the four surrounding oceans There is an inscription of

a Kokalla at Khajurâha which is dated in Samvat 1058 or A D 1001 It ends with the words *Sri Kokkalena*, and has the name of Kokkala also in the 17th and 18th lines, but I am unable to say whether it refers to Kokalla of Chedi Its date, however, agrees exactly with the approximate period of that king, 1000 to 1025, as derived from the reckoning of generations of his family

7 — *Gānggeya Deva* was the son and successor of Kokalla II In the Kumbhi plates it is said that “to him was dear the abode at the root of the holy fig-tree at Piayâga” There he died, and his hundred wives became Satis Wilford makes him die in a “loathsome prison,” but it is quite certain that there must be some mistake in this passage of Wilford’s abstract of the Benares copper-plate It is, of course, quite possible that Ganggeya may have been made captive by the Râthor Râja of Kanauj, and that he may have been imprisoned at Piayâga, but it is absolutely impossible that his own son Karna Deva should have recorded anything about a “loathsome dungeon” His hundred or hundred and fifty wives are a sufficient proof that he must have reigned for some time By the genealogical reckoning his reign is fixed approximately at from A D 1025 to 1050 It is certain that he was reigning in A D 1030-31, as he is mentioned by name by Abu Rihân as the king of *Dâhal* [or Chedi] The geographer, after mentioning Jajhaoti and Gwâliar and Kalinjar as lying to the south-east of Kanauj, adds—

“On arrive aussi à Dhîl, dont la capitale est Bitoura Le prince de ce pays est maintenant Kankyou”¹

In the original these names are *Dâhal*, *Pituri*, and *Gangeo*, which are clearly intended for *Dâhal* (or Chedi), *Tipuri* (or Tripuri, the capital of Chedi), and *Gānggeya Deva* To him we most probably owe the issue of the gold, silver and copper coins which bear a four-armed figure of *Dûrgâ* on the obverse, the well-known cognizance of the Kulachuris of Chedi, and on the reverse the inscription in bold characters *Sri mad Gānggeya Deva* The name is a very uncommon one, and does not occur amongst any of the other contemporary dynasties which issued similar coins The four-armed figure of *Dûrgâ* is a strong evidence in favour of the first issue of these coins by the Chedi Prince There are similar coins of the Chandel Kings Kirtti Varmma, Hallakshana

¹ See Reinaud Fragments Arabes et Persans, pp —85, 106

Varmma, Jaya Varmma, and Madana Varmma, all of whom were posterior to Gānggeya. There are similar coins also of Govinda Chandia Rāthor of Kanauj and of Kumāra Pāla and Ajaya Pāla of Gujarāt, the successors of Siddh Ray, but they, too, were posterior to Gānggeya. It seems, however, difficult to explain why none of Gānggeya's successors should have followed his example.

8 — *Karna Deva* was the son and successor of Gānggeya Deva. The Benares copper-plate was engraved during his reign. It is dated in the year 793 of the Chedi Samvat, which, according to Wilford's account, was also the 2nd year of his reign. In the Bhera Ghat inscription it is said that during his reign—

“The *Pāndya* discontinued violence, the *Murala* renounced all inclination of arrogance, the *Kanga* negotiated in audience, the *Vanga*, with the *Kalinga*, was solicitous to do thereafter, the *Kina*, like a parrot, stayed in his house as a cage, and the *Huna* dismissed his elation.”

It will be observed that all these districts are at a long and safe distance from Chedi, and then conquest might be asserted with impunity. Nothing is here said of Rāja Bhoja of Mālwa, or of Bhima of Gujarāt, with whom, as we learn from other sources, Karna really did come into contact. Bhima Deva reigned from A. D. 1022 to 1072, and Bhoja was reigning in 1021-1034, and 1042, and very probably for some time after 1050. In 1059 his successor Udayāditya was on the throne. The accession of Karna cannot therefore be placed later than 1050 A. D. Reckoning by the generations of his own family, his approximate date is 1050 to 1075. In the Jabalpur plate Karna is said to have conquered Bhimeswara, king of Andhra. This prince must be Bhima II, one of the Eastern Chalukyas.

In the 12th stanza of the Kumbhi plate it is recorded that Karna built the City of Karnaṇvatī. The same fact was also stated in the Benares plate. It has generally been supposed that the ruins of Karanbel must be the city of Karnaṇvatī, but I suspect that the true site was near Kari Talai, where there are extensive ruins of an old city with numerous temples, which are still called *Karnpur*. No 2 inscription of Rāja Lakshmana came from this place, and in the ruins there still stands a huge boar incarnation of Vishnu, 8 feet long and 7 feet high. The temples are said to have been built by Rāja Karna Dāhurya, and to the same king is attributed the foundation of Bilhari. Here tradition has preserved

the king's title very correctly, as *Dāhala* is a name of Tripura, and *Karna* of *Dāhala* is precisely the same thing as *Kaina* of Chedi

In the prologue to the curious drama called *Prabodha Chandodaya*, which was performed before Kirtti Varmma Chandel, it is stated that "Vishnu having subdued the powerful *Karna* gave prosperity to the king Kirtti Varmma" ¹ This defeat of *Kaina* is also mentioned in one of the Kālinjar inscriptions, ² where the Chandel king is said to have conquered the southern country, and speedily "defeated the immense army of *Karna*" The same victory of Kirtti Varmma is no doubt mentioned in the Mhau inscription, although the name of the conquered king has been lost ³ Lieutenant Price translates the passage as follows —

"His son was Kirtti Varmma Deva, of good renown * * * as if virtue had descended in a human form, who vanquished * * * * * through the aid of his six allies"

Here I believe that we must supply the name of *Karna*, as this success would appear to have been the chief exploit of the Chandel King Kirtti Varmma was, therefore, a contemporary of *Karna* of Chedi Now, I have lately obtained an inscription of Kirtti Varmma, which is carved on the rock of the great fort of Deogarh, to the east of Chanderi This is dated in the Samvat year 1154, or A D 1097 But as Jaya Varmma, the grandson of Kirtti Varmma, was reigning in Samvat 1173, or A D 1116, the year A D 1097 must have been near the close of Kirtti's reign Some years ago, I had placed him approximately between the years A D 1065 and 1085, which I would now extend to 1100 Rāja *Karna* of Chedi must, therefore, have reigned for sometime after 1065, which agrees with the date already assigned to him from A D 1050 to 1075 by the reckoning of the generations of his own family As a contemporary of Bhoja Deva of Mālwa, Bhuma Deva of Gujarāt and Kirtti Varmma of Mahoba, this date seems unexceptionable, although neither the beginning nor the end of the period may be quite exact There is, however, a notice of a *Kaina* Rāja who was defeated by Udayāditya of Mālwa, but both in the copy and in the translation of the inscription he is called *Karna* or *Karnāta* ⁴ But it is difficult

¹ In Dr Taylor's translation the name of the king of Chedi is omitted but it is given in the original Sanskrit as *Karna* See Archaeological Survey of India, II, 453 Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, XVII Part I, 319

² Asiatic Researches of Bengal, XII 357

⁴ Bombay Asiatic Society's Journal, I, 269

to see exactly how the King of Mâlwa could have reached Karnâta, and if he had got so far, it is equally difficult to see where he could have found a Karna Râja. In none of the lists of the Karnâta, to which I have access, is there a single Karna. It seems therefore not improbable that we should read Râja Karna of Karnâvati, as Udayâditya of Mâlwa was not only his contemporary, but also his immediate neighbour on the east. Now, I possess an inscription of Udayâditya dated in Samvat 1137, or A. D. 1080, while another inscription assigns to him the building of the magnificent Udaypur temple in Samvat 1116, or A. D. 1058—a period which coincides exactly with that which I have already assigned to the King of Chedi.

9 *Yasah Karna* was the son and successor of Karna Deva. No Chedian inscriptions have yet been found of this King, but he is mentioned by name in one of the Râthor copper-plate grants as having bestowed a village on Rudrasiva, which was afterwards transferred by the recipient to another person in the presence of Govinda Chandra Râja of Kanaur, in the Samvat year 1177, or A. D. 1120¹. I conclude therefore that he must have been reigning some 20 or 30 years previously, or between A. D. 1090 and 1100, which agrees with the date of 1075 to 1100 assigned to him by the reckoning of generations. It seems highly probable also that he was the reigning King of Chedi some time before A. D. 1104, when Lakshmidhara Râja of Mâlwa “conquered Tripura” in a campaign, resembling an ordinary excursion of pleasure.² As this exploit was recorded, along with many others, in the year 1104 A. D., it must have taken place some time previously. As an eclipse of the sun is mentioned, the actual date of the inscription must be the 16th February 1105, towards the close of the Hindu year 1161.

10 *Gaya Karna* was the son and successor of Yasah Karna. Of him I possess a perfect inscription dated in the year 902 of the Chedi Samvat, when his son Nara Sinha Deva was Yuva Râja. This was close to the end of his reign, as his son had already succeeded him in 907. He married Alhanâ Devi, the grand-daughter of Udayâditya of Mâlwa [A. D. 1059 to 1080,] and the niece of Lakshmidhara (inscription 1104 A. D.) and of Nara Varma, who died in A. D. 1133. Her marriage may, therefore, be placed sometime after 1100 A. D. His approximate date by reckoning the

¹ Bombay Asiatic Society's Journal I. 270

Bombay Asiatic Society's Journal, 1862 p. 124

generations is from 1100 to 112, A D The Jabalpur copper-plate, which was most probably dated in 879 of the Chedi Samvat, is the earliest record of his reign The colossal Jain statue at Bahuriband was set up in his reign, but the date is, unfortunately, doubtful The figure is called *Kanua Deva*, which would appear to have been the name of one of Gaya Karna's sons, as there is a cenotaph of a royal prince on the bank of the great tank, with the following inscription on one of its pillars —

Mahārāja putra Śrī Kanuḥa Deva

Bahuriband was most probably his estate, and there he died and was burned In after-times, when the Jain temple was destroyed, and the enshrined figure was forgotten, I suppose that it came to be looked upon as the statue of their popular prince, Kanua Deva

Of Gaya Karna the poet remarks that "he was a cornucopia of probity, a garland of diffusive merits," and that "the brightness of his complexion outrivalled orpiment"¹ To his queen, "open-handed Alhanā-Devī," we perhaps owe the curious temple of Bhoja Ghat.

11 *Nara Sinha Deva* was the son and successor of Gaya Karna Of him we possess several inscriptions dated in the years 907, 909, 926 and 928 of the Chedi Samvat He would appear to have left the actual government very much in the hands of his younger brother, Jaya Sinha Deva, who, in the very beginning of the reign, is described as eminently victorious — "who, strong-armed, defeated his enemies' hosts" But the Hindu poets judiciously suppress all reverses, so that we learn nothing from the Chedian panegyrist regarding Madana Varma Chandel, "from whose name even the King of Chedi, *vanquished* in fierce fight, ever quickly flees"² As Madana Varma's inscriptions range from A D 1131 to 1163, he was, undoubtedly, a contemporary of Nara Sinha Deva, whose reign, reckoning by the genealogy of his family, extended from A D 1125 to 1150

12 *Jaya Sinha Deva* would appear to have succeeded his brother on the throne of Chedi, as the Kumbhi plate speaks of his coronation (*abhisheka*) But his reign must have been limited to two or three years, as his sons' inscription is dated in the year 932

13 *Vyaya Sinha Deva* was the son and successor of Jaya Sinha The only dated inscription of this prince that

¹ American Oriental Society's Journal, VI, 510 Inscription translated by Professor Hall
² Punjab Asiatic Society's Researches, XII Translation of Mhow inscriptions by Lieutenant Price

has yet been found is that quoted above with the Chedi Samvat year 932. But there are several undated records, of which the longest is the Gopālpur inscription, No. 15, which mentions both Vijaya Sinha and his wife, Gosalā Devi. As these inscriptions have not yet been translated, all that we know of this reign is, that there was a young prince named Ajaya Sinha as early as 932.

There are no less than eight inscriptions dated in the *Chedi Samvat* in which the name of the week-day is also given.¹ With this abundant aid I expected to have been able to fix the initial point of the era with absolute certainty, and I *believe* that I have succeeded in ascertaining the true starting-point in the year 249 A. D. But the result of my calculations has not proved so satisfactory as I expected, as only four out of the eight dates, or just one-half, agree precisely with the stated week-day. Three of the remaining four, however, agree within one day—an amount of deviation which is not uncommon in Hindu dates. One at least of the deviations is undoubtedly due to the original writer of the inscription, as we have two dates of the *same year* 928, which cannot be made to correspond with the stated week-days, either by the northern or the southern mode of reckoning. The following list shows the dates given in the inscriptions, with the week-days calculated from A. D. 249 as the initial point of the era, the year 250 A. D. being the year 1 of the Chedi or Kulachuri Samvat, the Hindu reckoning being invariably recorded in complete or expired years, in the same way as a person's age is reckoned.

Chedi Samvat	A. D.	Month and day	Calculated week day
793	1042	Phālgun badī 9, Monday	Sunday
896	1145	Māgha sudi 8, Wednesday	* Wednesday
898	1147	Aswina sudi 7, Monday	Saturday.
902	1151	Ashādhā sudi 1, Sunday	* Sunday
907	1156	Māgasirā sudi 11, Sunday	* Sunday
909	1158	Śrāvanā sudi 5, Wednesday	Thursday
928	1177	Śrāvanā sudi 6, Sunday	Monday
928	1177	Māgha badī 10, Monday	* Monday

¹ The Jabalpur copper plate also gave the name of the week-day, but the year was unfortunately misread as 528 Samvat, and as the plate has since been stolen from the Nagpur museum the date can only be corrected by calculation. The month and day are Māgha badī 10 Monday.

From all the data which I have noticed in my accounts of different reigns, it is certain that the initial point of the era must be close to A D 249, and as that year gives the correct week-days by computation for four of the recorded dates, and gives a difference of only one day in three of the other four dates, I think that it may be accepted, for the present, as being almost certainly the true starting-point of the Chedi era. The following table of the Kulachuri Kings will show how well this initial point agrees with all their recorded dates

Chedi era	A D	
0	249	The Chedi or Kulachuri Samvat established
1	250	
—	—	Kakavarna, King of Chedi, cut off by a descendant of Sisupala
271	520	Sankaragana, Râja of Chedi
301	550	Buddha, Râja of Chedi [his son], defeated by Mangalisa Chalukya
431	680	The Hahayas defeated by Vinayâditya Chalukya
481	730	The Hahaya Princess Lokamahâ Devi marries Vikramaditya II Chalukya
626	875	Kokalla I, contemporary of Bhoja of Kanauj
651	900	Mugdhatunga
676	925	Yuvârâja
701	950	Lakshmana, made Lakshman Sagar at Bilhari
726	975	Yuva Râja, contemporary of Vâkpati
751	1000	Kokalla II
771	1020	Gânggeya Deva, reigning in A D 1030 (Abu Rihân)
791	1040	Karna Deva { S 793, contemporary of Bhoja { S 815, built palace at Bilhari.
831	1080	Yasah Karna
866	1115	Gaya Karna, S 902
902	1151	Nara Sinha Deva, S 907, 909, 926, 928
930	1179	Jaya Sinha Deva (brother)
932	1181	Vijaya Sinha Deva, S 932

The inscription of Vijaya Sinha Deva, dated in 932 of the Chedi Samvat, is the last notice that has yet been found of this old family, which for one thousand years had ruled over the upper valley of the Narbada. How, or when, they were expelled we know not, but it seems almost certain that one of the chief causes of their downfall was the rise of the

Bâghel power in Rewa, which, according to the genealogies of the Rewa and Bâra families, must have been some time during the 12th century A D. The present generation is the thirty-first from Vyâghra Deva, the founder of both branches of the family. Allowing 25 years to a generation, the death of Vyâghra will fall in the year 1186 A D. Now, the Bâghels derive their name from this Vyâghra, who is said to have been a son of Siddhâ Rai Jay Sinh, who ruled at Analwâia from 1100 to 1150. His son will, therefore, date from 1150 to 1175, and his settlement in Rewa, the north-eastern half of the Chedi kingdom, must be assigned to the same period. Thus the rise of the Baghels and their settlement in Rewa in the latter half of the 12th century correspond exactly with the decline and extinction of the Kulachuri dynasty of Chedi. What became of the people is unknown. There are now no Hahayas to be found, either at Bilhari or at Jabalpur. A few still exist in the upper valleys of the Sohâgpur district, in the wildest corner of their former dominions, about 100 miles to the east of Jabalpur, and the same distance to the south of Rewa.

19 —KHANDWA

The town of Khandwâ is situated at the junction of the two great roads leading from Northern and Eastern India towards the Dakhîn, or south. Its happy position must have led to its early occupation, and I believe, therefore, that it may be identified with Ptolemy's *Kognabanda*. It is mentioned by Abu Rihân, under the name of *Kandwaho* كندوه, as lying on the road from Dhâr towards the Dakhîn. The present town consists of two broad streets of two-storeyed houses crossing each other, with a few other narrow and winding streets in the angles. The slight eminence on which the town stands is not a mound, formed by the ruins of former buildings, but a natural elevation of rock, which in many places is quite bare. In consequence of the want of soil, there are no large trees, and but few small ones.

The town is surrounded by four great tanks—the remains of former prosperity. The *Padam kund*, to the north-west of the town, is 90 feet square. Numerous pieces of old carvings are let into the stone walls of this tank. There are six short inscriptions on the roofs of some small niches, which have almost certainly been taken from a temple. All of

them are dated in Samvat 1189, or A D 1132 The figures about the tank are all Brahmanical, such as Ganesa, Bhairava, and the Bull Nandi Close by is a small modern temple of Padmeswara, with an enshrined lingam, and many small figures from some old temple It seems probable, therefore, that the tank was repaired from the ruins of an old temple of Padmeswara Still farther to the north-west there is a fine large tank named Bhairon Tâl, which is 600 feet square

To the south-west of the town lies the *Kilâl kund*, which is 50 feet square, with walls broken To the south-west is the *Bhum kund*, near the railway iron bridge, and to the north-east is the *Suraj kund*

Near the Kilâl kund there is a small plastered modern temple of Tulja Devi, beside which a great fair is held annually on the full moon of Pous Here also there are some remains of Brahmanical sculpture, amongst which I observed a large figure of Ganesa and a long frieze covered with small figures

In the Padam kund there is said to be an inscription on the floor of one of the niche temples, which is covered by the water It is generally believed to cover treasure, and I was informed that three men from Nâgpur, Hushang-âbâd, and Khandwâ had once made an attempt to lift the stone But as it would not move, they began to cut it with chisels, when the goddess Devi made them all ill, and they died suddenly

The inscriptions at the Padam kund are all more or less injured, and not one of them has yet been read Apparently, they recorded the names of different statues which must once have occupied the niches I can read *Murtti Jalesayâni* at the end of one, and *Murtti Sri* at the end of the first line of a second I have a suspicion that they must have belonged originally to a Jain temple

In the town there is a Jain temple of Pârasnâth, which contains several inscribed statues, but the Seth in charge would neither allow me to see them, nor my servants to copy them Two of them are dated in eleven hundred odd of the Samvat I may add here that in nearly all the places which I have visited, I have found the Jain custodians both surly and unaccommodating

20 —BURHÂNPUR

The city of Burhânpur is situated on the north bank of the Tâpti river, 12 miles nearly due south from Asirgarh, and 40 miles south by west from Khandwâ. It was founded in A. D. 1399 by Nasir Khan, the first of the Fâruki kings of Khândes, on the site of an old Hindu town named Basâna-khera. The new city was named Burhânpur, in honour of the famous saint Burhân-ud-din of Daulatâbâd. It was the usual residence of all the later Fâruki kings, and it was during their rule of two hundred years that the two great mosques named the Jâmi Masjîd and the Bibi Masjîd were built. The city within the walls is just two miles in length from north to south, by half a mile in breadth. But there are numerous remains outside, showing that the suburbs must once have been very extensive. There are no Hindu remains of any kind, and the very name of Basâna-khera, or the "mound of Basâna," would seem to show that the place was a mere mass of ruins when first occupied by the Muhammadans. There are several Muhammadan tombs, but the only buildings of any archæological interest are the Bibi Masjîd and the Jâmi Masjîd.

The Bibi Masjîd was built by one of the queens of the Fâruki dynasty, but her name has not been preserved, and as there is no inscription on the building, even its date is uncertain. It seems, however, very probable that it must have been built by the Gujarâti princess, the daughter of Muzaffar Shah, and the wife of Adil Shah II. Her husband died after a short reign of nine years, in A. H. 926, or A. D. 1520, yet she most probably retained both wealth and authority during the succeeding reigns of her two sons, Muzaffar Muhammad and Mubârak. The latter died in A. H. 974, or A. D. 1566. I would therefore assign the erection of the Bibi Masjîd to the period between A. D. 1520 and 1540. In A. D. 1874 the building was said to be 375 years old, which would place its foundation A. H. 915, or A. D. 1510. As this is the very date of the accession of Adil Shah II, it is possible that the masjîd may have been begun by his mother, the daughter of Mahmûd Shah of Gujarât. It is recorded by Ferishta that Adil Shah removed his court from Tâlnér to Burhânpur, and it is only natural that a masjîd should have been one of the first works erected for the adornment of his new capital.

The masjid is a simple rectangle in plan, $132\frac{1}{2}$ feet long by $48\frac{1}{2}$ broad outside, and $123\frac{1}{2}$ feet by $39\frac{1}{2}$ feet inside, the walls being exactly 4 feet 6 inches thick. The roof is supported on four rows of square pillars, forming five aisles in the length and fifteen in the breadth¹. There are three large arches in the front wall, the middle one being 14 feet 7 inches wide, and the side ones, 7 feet 10 inches. On each side of the main entrance there is a massive square tower, with the angles indented after the fashion of Hindu temples. In the piers between the arches there are smaller openings of 3 feet 8 inches, each being covered in front by a small projecting balcony. In the inside, opposite each of the three large arches, the four middle pillars are omitted, and the open space is covered by a large dome, springing from the octagon, formed in the Hindu fashion. All the remaining squares are covered by pointed arches, and the angles of the three great squares are cut off by pendentives of plain, pointed arches.

The two towers which flank the middle arch, are five storeys in height, but only the two lower storeys are of stone, the three upper ones being of brick. From this I conclude that they were originally the flanking towers of a central screen wall, as in the fine examples still existing at Jaunpur, Benares, Etâwa, and other places. That the upper storeys of brick are later additions, is, I think, proved by the fact, that there is an undoubted brick addition to the whole front wall of the masjid, which has been heightened by building a brick-wall of 8 feet on the top of the original stone battlements. All the small domes are completely hidden by this brick wall, and the view of the three large domes is utterly spoiled by the concealment of the cylindrical necks.

The masjid is a good deal injured from the effects of time and weather. The walls of the courtyard are dilapidated, and the entrance gateway is closed. There is a short inscription of three lines over the door. The upper line is the usual Kalimah, and the lower lines seem to be an extract from the Kurân. I noticed, that the building was not finished inside, as only the pillars in the south row and the pilasters against the back wall, with a single one in the middle octagon, have their angles indented, all the rest being plain square blocks. There is one, however, on which the

indentations have been roughly hewn, and its unfinished state is the most complete proof that the work of the masjid must have been suddenly stopped, most probably by the death of the queen

The Jâmi Masjid is built on the same plan as the Bibi Masjid, with four rows of pillars, forming five aisles in the length and fifteen in the breadth, without any front wall, the whole of the fifteen arches being open to the court. The minâi towers are also of the same pattern, but they are attached to the two angles of the building—an arrangement which was adopted by Jahângir and Shah Jahân. But this is the earliest specimen of lofty corner minâis with which I am acquainted. The date of the building is recorded in its inscriptions, both in Arabic and in Sanskrit, as A H 997, Samvat 1646, Sâke 1511, and the year Virodhî of the Jovian cycle, all of which correspond with¹ A D 1589, during the reign of Adil Shah.

III The Sanskrit record is remarkable for giving at some length the genealogy of the Fâruki kings, who claim descent from the kings of Ghazni [Gajani Naiesha]. These inscriptions are placed in the right corner of the back wall inside the masjid. Outside the wall of the left hand minâr there is a short inscription of Akbar, dated A H 1009, in which he records the conquest of Khândes and the Dakhîn [*fath Khândes wa Dakin*].

The Jâmi Masjid is an unusually plain building, its exterior ornament being confined to a floriated battlement which runs all round the walls, while the only ornament of the interior is lavished on the pilasters of the niches in the back wall. These are all highly carved, and their contrast with the plain square pillars and the bare walls is so great, that I strongly suspect the intended ornamentation was suddenly stopped by Akbar's conquest of Khândes, which took place only eleven years after the date of the inscription. The building is generally in very good condition. Some repairs are said to have been made by Akbar, as well as by Aurangzeb, but if any work was done by Akbar it must

¹ These inscriptions were all sent to my lamented friend Mr Blochmann who, in his last letter to me dated 21st May 1878 thus refers to them: 'The Aurangzeb inscriptions have been lying ready for publication on my desk for a long time. You remember there was a Sanskrit inscription among them, which gives the pedigree of the Berar Sultâns, and I had collected all references to Berar from Muhammadan historians in order to put them, with your inscriptions, to the second part of my *Âin*, which, from want of funds, has not yet been commenced.'

have been the *completion*, and not the *repair*, of the building. It is considerably larger than the Bibi Masjid, being 148 feet long by 49 feet broad inside, and 157 feet by 54 feet outside. The roof is vaulted throughout, with pendants at all the points of intersection of the vaults. There is no lofty central arch, and no great colour to attract the eye, but the long line of battlement pierced by fifteen pointed arches and flanked by two lofty minârs, 120 feet in height, has certainly a very pleasing as well as a very striking effect. The front view recalls the Moti Masjid at Agra, and the pleasing effect of both is no doubt due to the same cause, the harmonious symmetry of their proportions.

21 — ASIRGARH

The famous fort of *Asirgarh* is situated on an isolated hill of the Sâtpura range, 12 miles nearly north from Burhânpur, and 8 miles west from the Railway Station of Chandai. It is visible from both places. In early days it was a position of great importance, as it commanded the high road leading through the Sâtpura range from Northern to Southern India, while it was itself nearly impregnable from its great height and its unfailing supply of water. It is only half the size of Gwâlior, but it is just double its height. Its strength has not been exaggerated, as it stood a long siege against Akbar's generals, and was only taken at last by the indomitable perseverance of Abul Fazl. So overjoyed was Akbar by its reduction, that he recorded the capture not only on the walls of the Jâmi Masjid at Burhânpur, and on the rock of Asirgarh itself, but also on a gold medal, which bears the proud inscription *Zarb Asir*, "struck at Asir." On the obverse of the medal there is a falcon, emblematic of his swoop on this famous stronghold, and on the reverse is the inscription — *Allah Akbar, Zarb Asir, Isfandârmaz, Ilâhi 45* "God is great! Struck at Asir, in the month of Isfandârmaz, in the 45th year of the Ilâhi era." As the Ilâhi years were solar, and the reckoning began from Akbar's accession in February 1556 A D, the 45th year extended from February 1600 to February 1601. Asir was taken some months previously, on the 17th Safar 1009 A H, or 18th-August A D 1600, but the distribution of honours was delayed until the 8th Shâbân, or 1st February 1601, when "the Emperor bestowed great

honours on Sheikh 'Abul Fazl,' including a banner and kettle drums" As this date of the Hijra corresponds with the month of Istandârmaz of the Ilâhî era, the gold coin just described must have been issued at the same time I know of only two specimens of this coin, of which one is in the Payne-Knight Collection of the British Museum, and the other belonged to a Brahman family at Benares¹

The fortress of Asir including the lower work of Malai-garh is nearly one mile in length by half a mile in breadth The upper fort, or Asnigarh, is upwards of half a mile in length, and 750 feet in height above the plain below The upper part of the rock is very precipitous, and quite unapproachable, especially on the southern face On the east and west sides a second wall has been added at the foot of the cliff, and the main entrance on the west is further protected by the lower fort of Malaigarh To the south-east, only one-quarter of a mile distant from the walls, there is a small but lofty hill, now named *Mughal top*, which I believe to be the "little hill called Koriya," which was seized and occupied by Akbar's general because it was—

"so close to the fortress as to have command over it The besiegers then saw that by occupying this commanding position, and by getting possession of another which was strongly fortified, they might overcome the garrison The former masters of the place had seen the importance of this position, and had scaped the rock so, that no one could climb up * * * After hard fighting the position was carried"²

The scarpèd height here described must be the isolated peak immediately *outside* the south-east corner, which by some fatal oversight is not included within the works As the historian mentions, some one must have seen the importance of this point, as not only has the rock itself been scarpèd to make it inaccessible, but a sally-port has been constructed in the south-eastern bastion to give the garrison the ready means of repelling an assault in this direction

Akbar appointed his son Dâmâl Governor of Khândês, at the same time changing its name to Dândês His capture of the fortress is recorded on the rock on the right-hand side of the ascent by the western gate The dates are 1009 A H

¹ See Plate XIX, for a sketch of this gold coin The other specimen has been described by Marsden in the *Numismata Orientalia* but is not accompanied by an engraving

² See Plate XIX—and the Akbar Nama in Su H Elliot's *Muhammadian Historians of India*, by Dowson—VI 144

and 45 Ilâhî Close by there is an inscription of his son Dâniâl dated on the 12th Ardî-bîhisht, and 26th Shawâl, in which he calls himself "Governor of Dândês and Dakhin "

On a slab of stone at the Phuta Darwâza on the old ascent there is an inscription of Shah Jahân with the dates of A H 1037 and 1040, and containing the names of Parvez and Mahâbat Khan

On a second stone slab (now in the Cantonment Magistrate's Office) there is a second inscription of Shah Jahân with the date of A H 1061, and jalus 25 This is said to have been taken from the Masjid on the top of the fort, which was built in Shah Jahân's reign This must be the inscription which in Mr Forsyth's time was near the large tank

On the rock there is another inscription of Shah Jahân dated in A H 1037

On the rock near the Kamîrgarh gate there is a curious inscription of Aurangzeb's time, recorded in the very first year of his reign before he had assumed the title of Alamgîr It is important, also, from the mention of his having acquired the kingdom by his sword As it is short, I will quote the whole record

"The Prince Aurangzeb, protector of religion (may he be mighty for ever), by the mercy of God ascended the throne of the Emperor Akbar He acquired his father's place by the power of his sword The point of my pen is sharp to write the date at once is written the name of Badshah *Kishwargîr*," [conqueror of countries]

This title, by the values of its letters, gives the date 1069 A H -1658 A D

The name of this famous fort has been variously derived The common people say that it was named after *Asa* Gauli, and that the tank and temple of *Asâ Devi*, outside the fort on the south, were named after his sister *Asâwarî Devi* Ferishta makes *Asa* on *Ahr*, with the too transparent motive of deriving *Asir* from *Asa Ahr* The Brahmans, however, are unanimous in assigning the name of the place to *Aswathâma* Rishi, and they point to the shrine of the saint, which is now called *Astamba* or *Astamb* Abul Fazl also says that it possessed a shrine of *Aswathâma*, when the Fârûkî kings took it from the Hindus It seems probable, therefore, that *Aswathâma-giri* was the original name, and that the spoken form of *Asthâmgîr*, or *Asthamgîr*, has

been gradually shortened to *Asir*. It has been suggested by Mr Forsyth that the hill was—

“first occupied for defensive purposes when the struggle commenced between the Hindu invaders of the Dakhin, and its aboriginal inhabitants”

This suggestion carries back the fortification of *Asir* to the very dawn of Indian history, when the Haihaya Yādavas first occupied the valley of the Narbadā. Without attempting to specify any particular period, the great antiquity of *Asir* may be admitted at once on account of its extremely favourable position. As I have already pointed out, it commands the only high road between the north-western and south-western districts of India. This obligatory passage through the Sâtpuṇa range of mountains also gave rise to the old Hindu city of Khandwā, and in later times to the Muhammadan city of Burhānpur. Khandwā is mentioned by Abu Rihān in the beginning of the 11th century, and Burhānpur is said to have been built on the site of an old Hindu town named Basāna, or Bajāna. But these were mercantile towns, the offspring of a comparatively civilized age, whereas the scarped hill of *Asir* must almost certainly have been occupied as a stronghold at a much earlier period. I am inclined to identify it with the *Ozoabis* of Ptolemy, and to take Khandwā as the representative of his *Kognabanda*.

22—BHĀNDAK OR VĀKĀTAK

The province of *Vākātak* is mentioned in three different inscriptions, from which we learn that it included the district of Seoni, between Jabalpur and Nāgpur, and that it formed the western boundary of the dominions of Rudra Deva of Warangal. The third inscription is in the Zodiac cave at Ajanta, which may also have belonged to the extreme western division of the country, as it is only 20 miles to the west of the source of the Pān Ganga river. Its boundaries may be approximately defined as the Mahādeva range of hills on the north, and the Godāvari river on the south, with the Ajanta hills on the west, and the hills at the sources of Mahanadī on the east. Roughly speaking, therefore, it corresponded with the province of Berār, or the modern Nāgpur. According to Abul Fazl, the Muhammadan Subah of Berar extended from Hindia

on the Narbadâ to Nander on the Godâvari, a distance of 180 kos, and from Patâla to Wairagarh a distance of 200 kos. These limits include the southern banks of the Narbadâ, which most probably did not belong to Vâkâtak, but the length measured from Wairagarh to the westward would just reach to Ajanta. I do not know the position of Patâla, but it cannot be far from Ajanta. Abul Fazl states that the ancient name of Berar was *Wardâtât*. His words are—*ash nám Wardâtât—Wardârûde ast, o tat kînâr*, (viz *ast*), “the original name is *Wardâtât*. *Wardâ* is a river and *tat* [is] border.” Hence Berâr would mean the “land of the Warda.”¹

The inscriptions give no hint as to the name of the capital, but it seems to me almost certain that Bhândak was the chief city of the province in ancient times. This also is the judgment of Mr A C Lyall, whose intimate knowledge of Berar and its antiquities makes his opinion on such a point almost conclusive. His words are—

“Bhândak is most indubitably the site of an ancient city of the pre-Muhammadian era. The ruins are very extensive and most interesting. I have seen a good part of the old kingdom of Kosala, but I have nowhere found such clear signs and tokens of an extinct town as exist at Bhândik.”

I have twice visited Bhândak myself and have explored its Buddhist caves and Brahmanical temples with great interest. The present town is upwards of a mile in length but the houses are scattered and straggling, and are said to number no more than 500. In former times, however, it must have been a very large place, extending about two miles from north to south, and one mile from east to west, which would give a circuit of six miles. The town occupies the top of a low broad plateau of rock, thinly covered with soil. The old roads have cut deeply into the soft coarse rock, in many places as much as two or three feet below the surface. The wheel-ruts in which the bullocks also go, are still deeper, being often more than one foot below the middle of the road on which the people walk. Near the north end of the town there is a large enclosure called the fort, which is built entirely of squared stones. Outside it is 304 feet long from north to south, and 276 feet broad. The walls are 14 feet

¹ In Gladwin's translation the name is given as *Durdâtât*, and *tat kînâr* is altered to *Sitikhennar*. For the correction in the text I am indebted to my good friend Mr Blochmann, whose untimely death has been a sad loss to Muhammadan literature.

thick, and from 25 to 30 feet high, with square buttresses, or bastions, 28 feet broad, with a projection of 15 feet beyond the walls. There are three of these buttresses on each of the long sides, and two on each of the others. Inside there are only two small buildings, one on each side of the entrance. There is nothing to show what was the original purpose of this building, but its costliness would seem to show that it must have been the Râja's palace. The walls contain upwards of half a million cubic feet of squared stone laid without mortar after the fashion of Hindu temples. But the stones of the gateway are laid with lime mortar. At first I was inclined to look upon this curious place as a stronghold of the Muhammadans, built out of the spoils of Hindu temples. But they do not appear to have ever occupied Bhândak, and I believe that the radiating arches, as well as the figure of Ganesa and of other gods in the gateway, are due to the Gond Râjas of Chânda. One man, however, informed me that he had heard that the fort had been built by a Muhammadan governor named Ismail Khan. I doubt the truth of this statement on account of the figures of Ganes and other gods being set up in the walls.

The town is nearly surrounded by *pân* gardens, old tanks, and large forests of trees. Towards the west the country is open, and even bare, but the bareness is scarcely noticed as the view is bounded by the picturesque hills of Wijâsan crowned with temples.¹ To the north-west there are the ruins of two temples in the fields near the Tâka Talao. To the east and south are numerous mounds strewn with cut stones, carved pillars and broken sculptures. Only three of the existing temples are old, but the hundreds of sculptures, and the numerous foundations of squared stones, show that Bhândak must once have been a great city. The only temples which have preserved their names are called Badari-nâth, or Badari-Nâg, Ghañdi-Devî and Pârswanâth. The ruined temples have received fancy names from the people, such as "Jobnâsa's Palace," whilst others are only known by the names of the tanks near which they are situated. The name of Jobnâsa, or Yuvanâswa, has been adopted from a mistaken identification of Bhândak with Bhadravati, where Yuvanâswa

attempted to perform the *Aśwamedha* sacrifice with the horse *Sāmkarna*, which was carried off by *Bhīma*. Altogether, I found 14 caves, 18 temples, 24 wells and 8 tanks, but the hollows of at least 30 more tanks are still traceable. The oldest of these remains appear to be the Buddhist caves of *Wijāsan* and *Gaurārā*, and the latest the Brahmanical temples of *Chandā Devī* and *Jobñāsa's Palace*.

CAVES OF WIJASAN

The small hill of *Wijāsan* is situated rather more than one mile to the south-west of *Bhāndak*. To the north lies a fine lake called *Rākha Tāl* which is nearly a mile square, and to the west of the lake there is a lofty hill two miles in length, on the top of which there is a ruined fort and a Brahmanical temple. The smaller hill, also, has its ruined temple, but the remains of greatest interest are the Buddhist caves, which are still in a very perfect state of preservation, owing, I believe, to the extreme dryness of the rock.

The name of the hill is written indifferently either as *Wijāsan* or *Winjhāsan*. The first may be derived from *Vidyā-āsan* "the abode of learning," but the other form points to the *Vindhya*, although it is probable that the nasal is a mere local addition. The principal cave is known simply as the house of *Bhīmsen*, and I could not hear of any traditions regarding the origin of the caves.

These caves differ from all the other greater groups that I have seen, in having no large halls for meeting, and no chaitya caves for perambulation. The three principal works consist entirely of long passages leading through small chambers up to small shrines of Buddha.¹ The excavations are in the shape of a cross, the lower member being an open passage 63 feet long, the upper member a gallery cave 74 feet long, and the right and left members two gallery caves, respectively 47 feet and 35 feet long. The open passage runs from east to west, with a general width of 20 feet, of which the central passage occupies 9 feet with a platform of 6 feet on each side. In the left wall there are four small shrines, all empty, and on the platform in front of them there is a square stone pillar with two carved faces, of which one presents a figure of the four-armed *Durgā* slaying the *Mahesāsur* or Buffalo-demon. A

¹ See plate XXI for a plan of these caves.

mutilated inscription shows by the shape of its letters that the pillar is of comparatively late date. On the same wall of the passage there is a shallow recess holding a three-headed Brahmanical figure, and just beyond it there is a Buddhist Stûpa in high relief.

On the right hand, or north side of the passage, there are three Buddhist Stûpas carved in high relief. Over the largest of these an oblong panel has been roughly traced with a chisel. As this tracing is of exactly the same size as the Brahmanical shrine on the south side, and is immediately opposite to it, we have the clearest proof that the Brahmanical occupation of the caves was of later date than the Buddhist. On this wall there are traces of inscriptions in several places, but they are all so much mutilated to be readable. Some of the letters are quite perfect, and from their shapes I infer that the original excavations may reach as high as the second or third century A. D.

At the west end of the open passage we reach the doors of the three caves, one to the front, and the others to the right and left. I think that these three cave doors are mentioned in the opening of the great Bhândak inscription as the *trisile mukha*, or "three rock cut doors." Passing through the middle entrance, we reach a flat-roofed chamber 9 feet by 4 feet, beyond which is a large chamber 32 feet long, and from 8 to 10 feet broad, with a pointed arched roof springing from an unpost. On the left-hand there is a small room 6 feet 9 inches square, with a low pointed roof, and beyond it a niche containing a four-armed statue of Saraswatî holding a book and a lute [Vina]. On the right-hand are two small rooms, one 6 feet 7 inches by 3 feet 3 inches, and the other 5 feet 7 inches by 3 feet 6 inches. The roofs are half arches. These must be the cells of two attendant monks, as they are simply stone beds, raised $1\frac{1}{2}$ foot above the floor, with a rock pillow at each end. From the head of the long chamber a few short passages lead up to the sanctum, a small room 11 feet 3 inches long by 7 feet 1 inch broad, and 8 feet 4 inches high with a flat roof. Here is enshrined a mutilated figure of Buddha seated on a throne, which is only darkly visible in the dim religious light at the end of the low gallery 74 feet in length. There is a short inscription of six letters on the right jamb of the entrance. The first and last letters are doubtful, but the whole may be read as *Sri Rudasachi-hu*. This record seems

to be only the name of a pilgrim, Rudrâ, who had visited the cave. But it is of value as a guide to the age of the cave, as the letters are all of the Gupta type of an earlier date than A. D. 500.

The right-hand, or north cave, is of exactly the same character as the front cave, but it is smaller, being only 47 feet in length with a height of 8 feet. At 8 feet from the entrance we pass through a chamber 10 feet long with a round arched roof 8 feet 7 inches high, but there are neither side chambers nor niches, and the sanctum is empty. On the entrance door the character *bi* is engraved of the gigantic size of 10 inches high by 6 inches broad. It may perhaps be the initial syllable of *Bijâsan*.

The left-hand, or south cave, is similar in character to the others, but is still smaller, being only 34 feet 9 inches in length. The long passage has the same round arched roof, but it is 9 feet 5 inches high. On the right-hand side there is a chamber 6 feet 4 inches long by 2 feet 7 inches broad, which was no doubt the cell of the attendant monks. The sanctum is only 6 feet 9 inches by 5 feet, but the statue of Buddha is still seated in its place.

A glance at the plate of these caves will show that they are all executed on the same plan. There is first a narrow entrance leading to a cross chamber beyond which is a long vaulted gallery. This is followed by a second cross chamber, and in the largest cave by a third, when another narrow passage opens into the sanctum.

The inscriptions on the north wall of the open passage are unfortunately too much injured to be readable. A few of the letters are quite certain, and their forms show distinctly that they belong to two different periods, the earlier to the Gupta period before A. D. 500, and the later to the 7th or 8th century, when the attached vowels and the feet of the consonants were prolonged into barbed flourishes.

The earliest notice of these caves that I have seen is by Dr. S. G. Malcolmson, which is valuable for its silence regarding the great inscription, as it shows almost conclusively that this record of the caves had already been removed to Nâgpur. His account is so brief that it may be quoted entire —¹

"In May 1828, I passed through a town called Bhândak, 18 miles from Chânda, on the road to Nâgpur, and finding many Hindu ruins

¹ Bengal Asiatic Soc. Journal, IV, 180

well sculptured on the sandstone of the district, I spent the day in examining them. To the greater number I could give names, but one insignificant head, much injured, struck me as having the composed sleep-like appearance of the Buddhist sculptures. This induced me to make some enquiries, and I soon heard that, in a hill two miles off, there was a cavern, and on reaching it I found an excavation consisting of three parts, the principal of which penetrated 20 paces into the rock, but was narrow in proportion to its length. In a small apartment at its extremity was a sitting Buddha figure, six feet high. The passage was arched with several recesses on each side, and near the entrance the two other portions of the temple extended 10 paces into the rock, like the arms of a cross, and were in every respect similar. A rude outline of Buddha could be traced on the rock, where it was smoothed away on each side of the mouth of the cavern. There was a figure of Durgâ inside the temple, and one at the door, on separate pieces of stone, and of modern appearance. The small head which first attracted my attention was found amongst the rubbish of a ruined temple, which some Jain Binians in the town were engaged in removing in search of their images, and amongst these I found several of the naked figures (four or five feet high), with curly hair, and differing amongst themselves, usually found in Jain temples, and also representations of Buddha in the sitting posture, with the hands laid over each other, the palms uppermost, the hair curly, the forehead wide, with little figures kneeling before him, and others fanning him, amongst them was a figure of Durgâ. The Jains have also a modern temple there."

In December 1873, when I was at Bhândak, I was informed that an inscription on a long red slab had been taken to Nâgpur during the time of the Raja about 40 or 50 years previously by Wilkinson Sahib. Now Major Wilkinson was the Resident at the Nâgpur Court at that very time, and from him was received the copy of an inscription which Dr Stevenson published in the Journal of the Bombay Asiatic Society.¹ This very inscription is now in the Nâgpur Museum. It is a long *slab* just as described to me by the people of Bhândak, and it is of the very same fine-grained, reddish stone as that of the caves in the Wijâsan hill. I have no doubt, therefore, that this is the identical inscription on a 'long slab of red stone' which was removed by Major Wilkinson from the Wijâsan caves to Nâgpur. This is further confirmed by the inscription itself, which records the fact of the reigning sovereign Bhava Deva having become a *Bodhisattwa*, or Buddhist sage. It also mentions that the place to which the inscription was attached was the "house of *Sugata*" and the "abode of *Jina*," two well-known names of Buddha.

¹ Bombay Asiatic Soc. Journal, 1, 148

Dr Stevenson was fully aware that this was a Buddhist inscription, as he says that—

“The tablet from which the transcript is taken was probably originally attached to a building destined for Buddhist ascetics by a sovereign of that faith,”

and further that the record is

“of considerable importance as affording direct proof that up to a period comparatively recent, the Buddhist ascendancy was maintained ”

Here Dr Stevenson adds the words “in the east of India,” as he believed that the inscription described Rāja Surya Ghosha as the “lord of Urisi” or Orissa. But the word which he took for *Urisi* was certainly misread. I read *Asindhitrau Kshatipate*, “the Lord of Asindhitrau,” but the name is indistinct. It may perhaps be the *Asidathra* of Ptolemy, which belonged to the country of the Betijū. I take exception, also, to Dr Stevenson’s date which he finds in the words *sam Shivojwale*, or 711. The word *jwālā* is clear enough, but the first letter is not *Sam* but *Sra*, and this at once disposes of the date. I am also puzzled to understand how a record, which, as Dr Stevenson admits, “affords direct proof” of Buddhist ascendancy, can open with a long invocation to Siva. A simple reference to the Brahmanical deities, such as to Lakshmi the goddess of prosperity, or to Saraswati “the goddess of eloquence” would be natural enough. It is true that the invocation ends with the name of *sarvajna*, which is a title of Siva, but as it was also a title of *Buddha* or *Jina*¹ I think it possible that Dr Stevenson may have been misled by the faultiness of his copy. Unfortunately he has not given any transcript of the inscription, but several portions of the opening lines on the stone are so much obliterated, that it seems quite impossible to restore them. Besides which, I can vouch for the inaccuracy of many parts of the lithographed copy which accompanies the translation.

My copy of the inscription was made from actual paper impressions on which many of the fainter and more doubtful letters were pencilled on the spot. Some were given up as utterly hopeless, but the greater part of the letters are fairly legible. Judging from the forms of the letters, I would assign the inscription to the 7th or 8th century A. D.

BHÂNDĀK TEMPLES

In Bhândak itself there is only one cave worth notice. It is excavated in the western face of the low ridge on which the town is situated, at a short distance from the temple of Badamînâg. It consists of a large open court 35 feet long by $18\frac{1}{2}$ feet broad, from which two openings on the east lead into a suite of caves, and one opening on the south into a single one¹. The two doors of the eastern cave open into a hall 33 feet long by $10\frac{1}{2}$ feet broad, in which there is a single niche with a figure of Lakshmi holding the club and discus of Vishnu. This hall is from 8 to 9 feet high. On the east side there are two openings leading into two separate chambers, each about 9 feet square and 7 feet high. In the left-hand chamber is enshrined a seated figure of the ten-armed Durgâ, and in that to the right a four-armed figure of Siva with trident and three-headed snake. There was formerly also a colossal figure in this cave, but only the two attendants now remain, one of them being the skeleton goddess Kâlî. From the south-east corner of this chamber a narrow passage leads into an unfinished cave 11 feet long by 3 feet broad.

The south cave consists of a single room 17 feet 6 inches in length by 15 feet 7 inches in breadth. Nearly in the middle there is a small raised platform 3 feet square, which most probably once supported a lingam of Siva.

There is nothing to show the age of these caves except the few figures which still remain. From the style of these I infer that the caves belong to the same age as the Brahmanical temples, that is to the 11th or 12th century.

The Brahmanical temples of Bhândak are all more or less ruined, but several of the remains are of sufficient interest to warrant a detailed notice.

The *Chandî Devi* temple is situated on a rising ground in the midst of the forest to the south-east of the town, and just 540 paces from the Akhâra mound. Its proper name, as noted in a short inscription on one of the pillars, is *Chandrikâ Devi*. From this record also we learn that the temple was built in the Samvat year 1133, or A. D. 1076. Its ground plan differs from that of the other temples of

¹ See Plate XXII

Bhândak in having two pillared halls, but I cannot help suspecting that the outer one is a subsequent addition ¹

The entrance to the temple is towards the town facing the west. The portico, which is 11 feet square, leads into an open pillared hall, 26 feet square, supported on 16 square columns nearly 8 feet in height. From the middle aisle another doorway leads into the second hall, which is only $21\frac{1}{2}$ feet in breadth by 26 feet in length. Its roof is supported by 8 square columns and 8 pilasters. The sanctum, which is nearly 10 feet by 6 feet, enshrines a standing female figure 4 feet 4 inches high. She has only two arms, and is, I suppose, the Chandikâ. Devi of the inscription after whom the temple is named. The roof of the sanctum was a low pyramid.

In the hall there are figures of Ganesa, Mahesâsurî Devi, and of a god, goddess and child grouped together. Outside the temple there are statues of Hara-Gaurî, Ganesa, and of a woman with a child on her hip.

I was informed that the road officer had begun to dismantle this temple, and had taken down two of the architraves of the *Mahâmandapa*, when he was stopped by the civil authorities. I afterwards verified this statement of the people by an examination of the nearest bridge on the high road, where I found several carved and squared stones still lying unused.

The Dolâra tank is situated just one mile to the east of the town, and close to the high road. On an island in the middle of the tank there was formerly a temple which was approached from the south by a long bridge. The bridge still remains, but nearly all the stones of the temple have been carried away to make road bridges. Even the name of the temple has now been lost, and the bridge is only known as the *Chumârîka-Dolâra*. Its construction is very simple. Sixteen pairs of square pillars 4 feet apart, are placed at intervals of 8 feet $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches from the tank to the island. The intervals are spanned by stone beams, over which is laid the roadway of stone slabs. The whole structure is 157 feet long and $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet broad. The pillars are $16\frac{1}{2}$ inches square, with spreading capitals of a rather elegant design which give a very pleasing appearance to this long viaduct. A sketch of one of the pillars is given in the accompanying

plate,¹ along with others from neighbouring temples with which it may be compared

The *Akhâra* mound is the ruin of an old temple which has been cleared and levelled as a wrestling place. Nothing is known about the temple, and the only figure which is set up on the top was brought from the temple of Chandi Devi. It is a seated figure holding a club over the left shoulder, and was no doubt selected as an appropriate adornment of the palæstra, where club exercise is daily practised by the wrestlers. The mound is situated at the south end of the town, and 525 paces from the temple of Badarinâg.

In the forest to the north-east of the *Akhâra* mound, at a distance of 330 paces, there are some remains of a Jain temple to *Pârswanâth*. The sanctum still remains with a naked figure of *Pârswanâth*, canopied by a seven-headed snake. The statue is $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet high, and the cell is nearly 8 feet square. Beyond it are the remains of a hall 20 feet long and $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet broad.

The temple of *Badarinâg* is the only one of all the *Bhândak* shrines that has preserved its fame. The "*Snake-temple*" is known all over the country, but it is the holiness of the *Nâga*, and not the beauty of the temple that has made the shrine so famous. As it now stands the temple consists of a half-open hall supported on 20 pillars, with a small sanctum at one end, but the whole is a hasty reconstruction of old materials. There is no entrance porch, and the officiating Brahmins gain admittance through a door in one of the side walls.²

The object of worship is a *Nâga*, or snake, which is said to make its appearance on all public occasions. Inside the sanctum there is a curious brass cover, surmounted by a five-headed snake. The cover, which is open both at top and bottom, is conical in shape and corrugated horizontally to represent the coils of a snake. Its form is just like that of a puffed crinoline. This curious vessel was presented to the temple upwards of one hundred years ago by *Sâmbaji Kasâr*. At the annual fair this vessel is carried to the meeting by a party of *Dhimars*.

In the courtyard of the temple outside there are several figures standing against the wall, of which the most noteworthy are

1.—A large statue of *Vishnu* with boar's head, as the *Varâha* Avatâr, with the other incarnations in small size grouped around

2 — Statue of Vishnu, four-armed, holding the club, the discus, shell and lotus

3 — Statues of Vishnu and Lakshmi on Garud

4 — Ilara-Gauri

5 — Ganesa

6 and 7 — Two rude Lions

Along with these figures there is an inscribed slab, dated in Sake 13 **, in the *Kshaya* Samvatsara. The date is therefore either 1301 or 1368 Sake, or A D 1386 or 1446, as Kshaya is the last year of the Jupiter Cycle of 60 years. But there is no certainty that this record belonged to the temple which is now called Badari-Nāg. The inscription itself records the dedication of a statue of *Jagannāṭya-ana*, and as the principal figures now standing outside are of Vishnu, it seems highly probable that the original temple was dedicated to that god. The plan of the present temple in the accompanying plate shows that it is a modern reconstruction.

The *Tāka Talao Temple* is situated close to a *tānka* or tank, 300 feet square and 20 feet deep, the sides of which are built of “cut stones” [*tānka*] with the upper course moulded. The tank is a little way outside the town on the north-west. The main body of the temple is said to have been very nearly intact some years ago, when the engineers of the Warora coal works began to dismantle it. The traces of the removal of beams and slabs from the roof were quite fresh at the time of my visit. The people appealed to the Deputy Commissioner of Chānda, and the demolition was at once stopped.

The temple consists of one large hall of three aisles, the centre aisle leading direct from the entrance to the anteroom in front of the sanctum being 7 feet 3 inches wide, while the side aisles are only 4 feet 2 inches. Lengthwise, also, the pillars are spaced differently from the usual custom, as the middle space is only 4 feet 2 inches, instead of 7 feet 3 inches. Perhaps this narrowing of the central space was found from experience to be necessary on account of the liability to breakage of long beams when subjected to a heavy weight. I noticed that all the beams of the Dolarā Bridge, which have a span of 8 feet 4 inches, are intact, while the temple beams of the same span are generally broken. The roof of the hall is supported on eight pillars and 12 pilasters, which are remarkable for the great splay of

their bracket capitals Two specimens of these pillars are given in the accompanying plate, that marked A being from the western side of the temple, and B from the middle aisle¹ The mouldings of the capitals of these aisle pillars appear to me to be quite new and peculiar in their arrangement Compare the Ghorpet capital in the same plate They are of the same character as the Dolâra and Gaorâra examples, but are quite different from any others that I have seen in Northern India, and would seem to be peculiar to this part of the country

Inside the temple there is a large figure of Vishnu sleeping on the serpent Ananta, 6 feet long by 3 feet broad, which is sufficient evidence to show that the temple must have been dedicated to that god

To the eastward of the Tâka temple and to the south of the Dudhâra tank, there are four richly carved pillars, standing in a field, which once formed part of a great temple The pillars are $8\frac{1}{2}$ feet in height, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ foot square at the base They form a square which was originally the central part of the *Mahâmandapa*, or great hall The mouldings of the capital combine the upper member of the Tâka Talao example with the lower members of the Gaorâra example

GAORARA

Gaorâra, or Gavarâra, is a small village situated one mile and a half to the south of Bhândak To the west are several fine tanks, especially the Asan Tâl, beyond which is a low hill crowned with the remains of several temples There are also many detached rocks, several of which have been hollowed out to form caves and niches The principal temple is called Jobnasa's Palace, and the two chief caves are called his Big and Little Fowl-houses

The rock-cut niches are found in a group of huge rounded stones which form a tolerably uniform front about 40 feet in length The first niche beginning from the left hand contains a lingam, and the second a row of figures of the Ashta-Sakti, on eight female effigies The third has a seated figure of Ganesa, the fourth is empty, the statue having been removed from its socket, but there is a lingam scratched on the wall behind The sixth niche contains a

¹ See Plate XXIV

lingam, and a place for a second figure. The seventh niche has only a mutilated figure. All these niches are roughly hewn out.

The "Big Fowl-house" is a carefully cut room, 9 feet long by 5 feet 2 inches broad, and upwards of 7 feet high. The entrance is 3 feet 7 inches wide, and there are traces of a structural porch which once stood in front of it. Round the three walls of the cave there is a raised platform for the reception of statues. This has been very carefully hewn, with mouldings both above and below. There are eight large sockets in the platform for the reception of as many statues. In the plate I have marked the holes with the letters A to H. At present there are only a few loose figures in the cave, which from their small size are not likely to have been the original objects of worship. Three of these are Vishnu himself, on Ananta, and the dwarf and boar incarnations. A fourth is an unidentified seated figure, and the fifth is a lingam. If the cave had been dedicated to the Das-Avatâr of Vishnu, there would have been ten socket-holes instead of eight, unless, which is quite possible, more than one figure had been carved upon two of the stones. I have seen the fish and tortoise incarnations placed one above the other on the same stone, and such may have been the arrangement in this cave. But whatever may have been the original arrangement, it is clear that the worship of Vishnu was in fashion when the present figures were placed inside. It is quite possible that the cave may have been a Buddhist one, for the worshippers of Buddha always arranged their statues on platforms around the walls, as they do even at the present day in Burma. In favour of this assignment, I may note that a draped figure of Buddha is now lying at the foot of the hill, and that the small cave, called the "Little Fowl-house," which is close by, was almost certainly a monk's cell. It is 5 feet 5 inches long by 3 feet 3 inches broad, which are about the usual dimensions of the rock-hewn cells.

On the hill above these two caves stands the Brahmanical Temple called Jobnâsa's Palace. Although ruined externally, the arrangement of the interior is still nearly perfect. The entrance, which was to the south, has gone, but most of the pillars of the *Mahāmāṇḍapa*, or great hall, are still standing as well as the walls of the *antarāḍa* and sanctum. The roof of the hall was supported on 16 pillars, each $7\frac{1}{2}$

feet in height. The capitals of these pillars appear to me to be more graceful in their proportions than those of the Bhandak temples¹. They are also remarkable for the disuse of the pinched neck which gives an appearance of weakness to other Hindu pillars. But this advantage would seem to have been gained rather by decreasing the bulk of the shaft than by increasing the width of the neck.

The antarāla and sanctum are rather larger than those of the Bhândak temples. They are both empty, but in the hall there is a figure of Ganesa, and another of the Bull Nandi. On the left hand jambs of the *antarāla* there is an inscription dated in the Samvat year 1166, or A. D. 1109. This temple is therefore somewhat later than that of Chandika Devi. A plan of it is given in the accompanying plate².

On the south side, at a distance of only 21 feet, there is a small side temple containing a large statue of Ganesa. It consists of a single room 16 feet 4 inches long by nearly 7 feet wide, the entrance being towards the temple.

At 500 feet to the south there are the foundations of a large Saiva temple, and on low spurs of the hill to the east and north-east, distant 400 feet, there are the traces of two other temples. To the north also there are traces of three more temples.

DEWALWĀRA

The hill of Dewalwāra is situated just six miles and a half to the west of Bhândak. On the top there is a small square fort with high walls, now in ruins. Inside the fort there are four pillars of an old temple still standing, of the same style as those of Chandika Devi. There is also a dry tank called *tānka*, and to the east of it is a natural mark in the rock, 15 inches long by 6 inches broad, called *Bhīm Sen's Charan*, or foot-print.

In the side of the hill there are several caves, of which the largest is named *Narsinh*. This is a long, narrow passage which has all the appearance of a natural rent somewhat enlarged. Altogether it is 32 feet long from its mouth, but only 4 feet wide, except in a small chamber near the entrance, where it is 6 feet wide and 6 feet high. In this chamber there is a figure of the goddess Devi.

¹ See Plate XXIV

² See Plate XXIII

About 100 feet to the south of the Narsinh cave there is a group of four small caves or cells which are rough and of no interest. But 100 feet further to the south, there is a double-roomed cave with straight sides. The outer-room is 8 feet 9 inches by 4 feet 3 inches, and has openings to the outside. The inner-room is only 6 feet 3 inches by 5 feet. Both rooms are extremely low, being only 4 feet 7 inches from floor to roof. It seems probable, therefore, that the excavation was not completed when the work was stopped.

23 —GHORPET

At the village of Ghorpet, between Bhândak and Chânda, there was once a fine temple which has been utterly destroyed by a gigantic pipal tree, the roots of which now hold together a portion of its walls with one pilaster and several mouldings complete. This pipal tree is 9 feet in diameter and 29 feet in circumference. The pilaster is remarkable for being built up in regular courses of stone with the walls, instead of being a monolith. The remains were formerly much more extensive, but the stones are said to have been carried away by a road officer to build a bridge. The pilaster is a very fine example of the style of mouldings of the mediæval temples of this part of the country. One of the upper mouldings is undercut, and one of the lower mouldings has a raised lip on its upper edge. Nothing whatever is known as to the age of the temple, but as the neighbouring *baori* well of $13\frac{1}{2}$ feet diameter has an arch of overlapping stones, the whole may be assigned to the eleventh or twelfth century. A sketch of the pilaster is given in the accompanying plate, for comparison with other pillars at Bhândak and Mârkanda.¹

24 —CHÂNDA

The large city of Chânda, the capital of the southern Gonds, is said to have been built by Khândkia Ballâl Sâh in the 13th century. But as this prince, according to the native annals, was only four generations prior to Bâllajî Ballâl Sâh, the contemporary of Akbar, the date of the foundation of the city cannot be placed higher than A. D. 1450. The capital of the earlier kings was Ballâlpur, on the left bank

¹ See Plate XXIV

of the Wardâ river, 6 miles to the south of Chânda. Here there is a stone fort with the ruins of an old palace attributed to Bluma Ballâla Sinha, the founder of the Chânda Gond dynasty. As he was ten generations prior to the founder of Chânda, the establishment of the Chânda Gonds may be referred to about 1200 A. D. The Gonds of the Mandala dynasty profess to trace their annals up to Samvat 415, or A. D. 358, but their claim of royalty is quite incompatible with the acknowledged supremacy of the Hahayas of Chedi. Yâdava Raja, the founder of the family, is said to have been in the service of the Hahaya King, and it seems probable that his descendants may have been petty chiefs under the great Kalachuri Kings of Kosala.

Nothing is known of the Chânda district prior to the Gond occupation by Bluma Ballâla Sinha. But the caves and temples of Bhândak show that this was the capital of a considerable kingdom for several centuries before the time of the Gond Kings. In my account of Bhândak I have suggested the probability that it was the ancient *Vâkâtaka*, the seat of the *Kaulakila Yavanas* about the third and fourth centuries A. D. From the great Bhândak inscription, also, we learn that it was the chief city of a later dynasty which numbered amongst its Princes Suiya Ghosha, Kutsa, Udayana, and Bhava Deva. These four probably reigned from A. D. 700 to 800, judging by some of the peculiar forms of the letters of the inscription. After this we have no mention of *Vâkâtaka* until the time of Rudra Deva of Warangal, of whose kingdom it formed the western boundary in A. D. 1162. As this date is quite close to that of the rise of the Gond monarchy, it seems probable that *Vâkâtaka* had existed as a distinct kingdom from the first centuries of the Christian era down to the Mahâratta conquest in the middle of the last century.

Chânda is a large walled town situated in the fork between the Jharpat Nala and the Erai river. It is about one mile and a half in length, by a mile and a quarter in breadth, but the greater part of the enclosed space is vacant. The walls were built by the Gond Raja Khândkia Ballâl Sâh, the contemporary of Akbar, but they were repaired by the Mahârattas and are now in excellent order. The walls are rather low, with lofty battlements, and they form a very efficient protection against the flood waters of the Erai river when driven backwards by the inundation of the Wardâ river.

The only buildings of any consequence are some temples and the tombs of the later Gond kings. The last are plain and substantial buildings, but rather heavy in appearance. The gateways offer good specimens of Gond art, as they are ornamented with sculptures of the fabulous monster lion overpowering an elephant, which was the symbol of the Gond kings.

The temples are generally plain, with pyramidal roofs in steps. The only exception is the fane of Achilleswara, the walls of which are covered with a multitude of small sculptured panels. There are several sculptures of the Nāga, but only one of them is of large size, with two smaller snakes on the same slab.

Outside the town to the south-east, at a picturesque spot called Lālpct, there is a large collection of colossal figures which are more remarkable for their size than for their artistic excellence. They are situated on a rocky eminence amidst a fine grove of mango, custard-apple and tamarind trees. They must certainly have been carved on the spot, as many of them are much too heavy to be moved. In several cases they appear to have been detached rocks which were first rudely shaped into symmetrical blocks, and afterwards carved. They are arranged in a sort of rough circle, 150 feet across from east to west, by 120 feet from north to south, with a lingam of Siva in the middle. The following list of the subjects and dimensions of these curious sculptures shows that they are nearly all dedicated to the worship of Siva.

	SUBJECT	Length	Breadth	Height
		' "	' "	
A	Lingam and Argha	9 0	5 9	
B	Elephant	5 9		"
C	Siva's bull Nandi	9 8	3 6	7 0
D	Ten-headed Durgga	26 6	18 0	3 0
E	Siva, standing naked	13 9	7 1	
F	Do standing	19 6	8 2	
G	Do standing	9 0	4 6	
H	Ten armed Maheswari Devi	16 10	8 3	
I	Ganesa, son of Siva	11 9	7 9	
K	Hanuman, facing to West	10 7	6 3	
L	Do facing to East	10 4	5 6	
M	Bhanuava, son of Siva	10 6	6 6	
N	Tortoise incarnation of Vishnu	12 8	8 11	
O	Fish incarnation of Vishnu	13 7	3 8	5 6
P	Naga with expanded hood	12 0	8 0	
R	Lingam and Argha	13 6	8 4	

The last of these sculptures is hewn out of the solid rock, and apparently does not belong to the group of detached sculptures, as it lies away from them to the south, and is pointed in a different direction. The whole group is known as Râwan, or Râwan-ka-patthar.

A is the central lingam around which the other sculptures are grouped.

C is the bull Nandi on the east with face turned towards the lingam.

D is the largest of all the sculptures, and represents the goddess Durggâ standing, with ten heads, ten arms and ten legs. In her five right-hands she holds a sword, a thunder-bolt, a club, a trident and a shell, and in her left-hands a human head, a bow, a discus and two objects not identified. On the pedestal under her feet Siva is represented as a *tapasi* or ascetic. The weight of this mass must be about 57 tons.

E is a naked standing figure of Siva with four arms. In his hands he holds a sword, a snake, a trident and a human head, below which there is a dog lapping the blood. In front, towards the lingam, there is a small figure of Ganesa.

F is a two-armed figure of Siva, standing, and holding in his hands a sword and a bowl.

G is a four-armed figure of Siva, standing, and holding in his hands a trident, a sword, a bell and a cymbal.

H is a ten-armed figure of Durggâ killing the buffalo demon. In her hands she holds a sword, a trident, a bow, the demon's head and other objects. This figure stands 80 feet to the west of the central lingam.

J is a four-armed figure of Ganesa seated, holding an axe and a club and canopied by a Nâga.

K and L are a pair of figures of Hanumân which are represented facing in opposite directions.

M is a two-armed figure of Bhairava, the son of Siva, holding as usual a sword in his uplifted right-hand.

N and O are the tortoise and fish incarnations of Vishnu. This pair of figures stand 43 feet to the south of the central lingam.

P is a large Nâga with a pair of small snakes, one on each side.

R is the detached *lingam* and *argha*, sculptured on the solid rock to the south of the group.

The whole of these figures are executed in a very soft and coarse sandstone, which has already suffered much from the

action of the weather. All the larger sculptures are lying on their backs on the ground, and I believe that they were never set up, but were carved in their present positions out of detached blocks.

25 —KELJIAR

Keljar is a large village about half-way between Chânda and Maikanda, and within a few miles of Rajgarh and Mulh. Here I found two small cromlechs or dolmens, which at first I took for kistvaens that had been broken open. On enquiry, however, I was assured that they were temples raised by the *Kurumbâr* shepherds. I then remembered that I had seen a much larger one at Mulh, which was undoubtedly a place of worship, as a goat had been sacrificed in front of it only half an-hour before my arrival, and in the presence of several of my servants. This temple was 6 feet long, 4 feet broad and 4 feet high. It was closed on the three sides and open to the east. At the back there was a raised terrace of earth, on which were set up a number of stones smeared with vermilion, each of which was said to be a *Kurmâi* Devi. I thought at first that this was the actual name of the goddess, but I now found that it is only the *Gondi* name for the deity of the *Kurumbâr* shepherds. These temples are called *Mallâna* by the shepherds themselves, and they are generally built in pairs, one dedicated to Mallâna Deva and the other to Mallâna Devi. There was a second small cromlech at Mulh close beside the large one. The *Kurumbâs* sacrifice a goat to the Mallânas to save their flocks from tigers and murrain. The shrines are generally open to the east, but sometimes they are completely closed for the purpose of keeping the sacred stones, which represent the Mallâna deities quite safe. The two temples at Keljar have not been used for a long time, but those at Mulh are much frequented. Beside the sacred stones I saw a number of wooden figures, which were said to be the offerings of sick people, generally small-pox patients, to avert death. I was also told that men who are killed by tigers or snakes are buried under similar dolmens raised on low mounds, on which the relatives place rude representations of horses.

I find that Meadows Taylor had already guessed that these cromlechs were most probably temples, and not tombs,

for he notes,—“ they do not, *so far as I have opened them*, contain funeral remains, and therefore *may have been temples, or altars* only, for the performance of sacrifices or other ceremonies ”

The actual graves which I have seen are mere cairns or barrows covered with pottery horses. The temples of the Mallāna deities are cromlechs. Both kinds are found all over the country to the south of the Nerbada beyond the Gond area. The Gonds themselves call the two Mallāna deities Kuimār Pen and Kuimār Devī, and speak of them with something like contempt. But their own demon-worship is much the same. Between Chānda and Keljhar there is a broad tract of thick jungul covering the slopes of the Mulh range of hills. At Chānda the mass of the people are still Gonds, but on passing this belt of jungul to the east, we come at once upon a different race, who call themselves Telingas and speak Telugu. To the west of this line amongst the Gonds there are none of these remains, to the east in the vicinity of Mulh I heard of fifteen villages which are said to have two cromlechs each and “at Chamusi, to the east of the Wen Gangā river, there is a group of twenty cromlechs or kistvaens ”

In the accompanying plate I have given a sketch of the two cromlechs at Keljhar¹. They are of small size, being only 2 feet 7 inches square inside, and perhaps about the same height originally, but the earth had accumulated about them, so that the more perfect one is only 1 foot 8 inches high at the back above the ground. This one stands on the top of a little mound about 2½ to 3 feet high, and 40 feet diameter. The smaller one is on the slope. The covering stone is 4 feet 2 inches long by 1 foot 9 inches broad.

26 — RAJGARH

Rājgarh is a large village on the road between Chānda and Mārkanda. It possesses an old temple of Mahādeva which, though small in size, is interesting for its details, as it is generally in very good preservation. It consists of a sanctum 13 feet 3 inches on the outside, with a hall open pillared hall in front, 21 feet 6 inches square. The temple is dedicated to Mahādeva, whose lingam is enshrined inside

¹ See Plate XXV
See Plate XXVII

The entrance is to the east. The hall or *Sabha mandapa*, is surrounded by a low wall on which stand ten short pillars of the same design as the four taller pillars in the middle. The shafts of these four middle pillars are ornamented with chains and bells. Their capitals have the same pinched necks which are so common at Mârkanda and Bhândak. They are quite plain, excepting only the figure of a hooded cobra on the face of each of the cruciform brackets. The cobra is also sculptured on the brackets of the Nandikeswar temple at Mârkanda, but I do not remember seeing a single example of this kind at Bhândak. The erection of the temple is, of course, attributed to the magic powers of Hemâd Panth. There is no inscription, and I could not find even a single letter or mason's mark on any of the stones. The style is however the same as that of the Mârkanda temples, and the roof of the sanctum is a pyramid rising in steps exactly like the pyramidal spires of the Das-Avatâr temple at Mârkanda, which will be described presently.

27 — MARKANDA

Mârkanda is the name of the principal temple of a group situated on a rocky point on the left bank of the Wen or Venya Gangâ river about 40 miles to the east of Chanda, and 90 miles to the south-east of Nâgpur. Here the river is fordable, being about 2 feet deep, with a clear broad stream running rather rapidly over a firm sandy bottom. The little village is named Mârkandi. It was once a large place on the open plain to the west, but the frequent inundations have driven most of the people away, and there are now not more than 20 occupied houses.

The principal temple takes its name from Mârkanda Rishi, but it is dedicated to Siva, whose lingam is enshrined in the sanctum. Nothing whatever is known about the building of the temple, nor are there any inscriptions to give a clue to its age. The same story is told of this temple as of all others in Nâgpur and Betar, that they were built in a single night by Hemâd Panth. To him is ascribed the erection of all the temples at Bhândak, and I was assured that all the temples, even as far as Kâsi-Benares, had been built by him. According to my informant, Hemâd Panth was the son of a learned Brahman. The story of his birth is the same as that which is told of Lakshmanîya Raja of Gau.

When his mother's confinement drew near, the time was said to be unlucky, so she ordered her attendants to delay the birth by hanging her up by the feet with her head downwards, until the lucky hour arrived. She was at once taken down, and then gave birth to Hemâd Panth, but died herself immediately afterwards. Hemâd became learned in every science, and more especially in medicine. When Vibishana, the brother of Râvana, was sick, Hemâd cured him, and the grateful patient told him to ask a boon. Hemâd asked for the aid of the Râkshasas to build temples whenever he might require them. The boon was granted, but on the condition that the Râkshasas were not to work for more than one night at a time. Accordingly with their aid Hemâd Panth built all the temples at Mârkanḍa, Bhândak, and other places between the Ganges and Godâvarî. I was further told that Hemâd was the "same person who is called Pratap Rudî in the Telinga country of Orangul (Warangal)." Now Pratap Rudî is a well-known historical personage, who lived in the 12th century, and he was certainly not a Brahman as Hemâd is always said to have been in accordance with his title of *Panth*.

The temples are enclosed in a quadrangle 196 feet long from north to south and 118 feet broad¹. There are upwards of twenty of them of various sizes, which are grouped around the great central fane of Mârkanḍa Rishi. Some of these are in complete ruin, and others are very small, but the whole taken together forms, perhaps, the most picturesque group of temples that I have seen. They are neither so large nor so many in number as the Khajurâha temples, but they are equally rich and elaborate, both in their ornament and in their sculptures. There are no inscriptions to tell their age, but their style is so similar to that of the Chandel temples of Khajurâha and other places, that there can be little doubt that they belong to the same period of the 10th and 11th centuries, A. D.

The wall of the quadrangle has a very primitive appearance, and is probably much older than any of the present temples. It is nine feet high and three feet nine inches thick at base, with sloping sides crowned by a rounded coping stone two feet thick². The main entrance is on the south, but there are two side entrances, one towards the river

¹ See Plate XX for a general plan of the Mârkanḍa group of temples.
² See Plate XXV II

on the east, and the other on the west towards the village. These two are mere openings in the wall, but the southern entrance though small, is a two-storeyed building with a pair of pillars, both inside and outside. The upper storey is an open room with eight pillars intended for the use of the musicians.

The following list of the Mâikanda temples shows their names and sizes, and the gods to whom they are dedicated. Many of them are so small and unimportant as to require no further description —

	NAME	Size		Enshrined figure
A	Mârkanda	73 7	55 3	Siva lingam
B	Nandikeswara	38 3	38 3	Do with bull Nandi
C	Mârkanda	36 3	27 6	Do with two Nandis
D	Jodh Ling	10 2	6 7	Ditto
E	Mitunjaya	18 6	10 0	Ditto
F	Yama Dharmarâja	14 9	10 0	Ditto
G	Umâ Maheswara	16 0	10 0	Ditto
H	(Ruined)	9 0	9 0	Ditto
J	Râj Râjeswara			Ditto
K	Nâg Rishi	7 8	7 2	Hanumân
L	(Ruined)			
M	Koteswara	23 8	14 8	Siva lingam
N	Dharmacâla	13 8	10 0	Hall for ascetics
O	(Ruined)	6 3	6 3	
P	Siva	6 6	6 6	Siva lingam
Q	Nameless	7 0	6 6	Ditto
R	Do	7 6	5 0	Ditto
S	Ganesa	10 0	7 0	Ditto
T	Isveswara	14 6	11 6	Ditto
U	Siva	16 6	16 6	Ditto
V	Mamleswara	11 0	11 0	Ditto
W	Bhirmâ Sankara	24 0	24 0	Ditto
X	Das Avatâr	79 0	11 0	Incarnations of Vishnu
Y	Dwâikâ Pillar			

On entering by the southern door, the path leads between two rows of small temples and past several curious old square pillars, which are apparently much more ancient than any of the temples. Nearly all of them are sculptured, and some of them are inscribed. The chief figures are soldiers, armed with battle-axe, bow and quiver full of arrows, in an attitude of attack. On one pillar I noticed the sun and moon

above an illegible inscription. As these emblems are generally found on Sati pillars, I have a suspicion that most, if not all, of these pillars are memorials of Satis.¹ When the deceased was a soldier, he was sculptured with his arms, and if he died in battle, he was represented fighting.

A — The temple of Mârkaṇḍa Rishi is by far the largest of the group, and is also the most elaborately sculptured. About 200 years ago it was struck by lightning, when the upper part of the massive spire was hurled down on to the roof of the Mahâ Mandapa which was broken in, and at the same time a small temple marked H in the plan, was utterly destroyed. The roof of the hall was repaired about 120 years ago, but in a very rude manner, by one of the Gond Rajas, whose architect introduced huge piers with radiating arches inside the principal room.

The temple consists of an entrance porch on the east, leading into the great hall, which has also two side entrances on the north and south, each covered by a porch. Beyond this is the *anturâla* or antechamber leading into the *sanctum*, both of which are old work. Inside there is a lingam of Siva, with a *mukuta*, or cap of brass, surmounted with five human heads, under a canopy of five snakes' hoods.

The general style of the Mârkaṇḍa temple is like that of the Khajurâha temples, with three rows of figures all round, two feet three inches in height. In each of these rows there are 15 human figures, making 135 in the lower part of the temple. Higher up than these there is a row of geese, and a row of monkeys, and above these are four more rows of human figures. The whole surface of the temple is, in fact, literally covered with statues and ornaments. Altogether I counted 409 figures, and there are about half as many lions and elephants forming divisions between the human statues. About one-half of the panels are given up to Siva and Pârâvatî in various forms. There are also many subordinate female figures, some dancing, some playing musical instruments, and one holding a mirror, while putting antimony to her eyelids. Several of the statues of Siva are naked, and so are some of the female statues, but they are simply nude figures without any suggestive indelicacy, such as is only too prominent in the obtrusive bestiality of the Khajurâha sculptures. The attitudes of the figures are generally easy, but

¹ I have since met with similar pillars in other places, which are undoubtedly Sati memorials.

there is invariably the same passionless expression in all the faces, and Siva has just the same calm features when he is caressing Pârvatî, as when he is trampling an enemy to death

On the jambs of the south door is inscribed the name of "*Magar-dhivaj Jogi, 700*" A similar record is incised on temples at Bilhâri and Amarkantak, as well as in Bihar. The number of 700 is most probably intended for the date of his visit, but it certainly cannot refer to either the Vikramaditya or Saka era, as the characters are comparatively modern. The earliest date that I would assign to the writing is about A D 1000, and if referred to the Chedi Samvat, the date will be about A D 950. The temple itself may be as old as the beginning of the tenth century, as it rivals in richness of sculpture and luxuriance of ornamentation the great temples of the Chandel Kings Yaśo Varmma and Dhanga, who reigned from A D 925 to 1000. A glance at the mouldings of the plinth in the accompanying plate will show the great variety and beauty of form which the Hindu architect lavished without stint on this fine temple.¹ One is surprised to find such a rich and costly building in the wilds of Central India.

B—The temple of Nandikeswara faces the Mârkanḍa temples on the east, the two entrances being $10\frac{1}{2}$ feet apart. It is, as its name implies, a shrine for the Bull Nandi, which is one of the usual adjuncts of the temples dedicated to Siva. This shrine is an open pillared hall, 24 feet square, with a projecting portico of seven feet on each of the four faces. There are four pillars on each side, two in each portico, and four in the middle of the hall for the support of the pyramidal roof. The outer pillars are 6 feet high and 16 inches square at base, but the inner pillars are 19 inches square. They are well-proportioned, but comparatively plain, the only ornament being a hooded cobra on each face of the bracket capitals.² There is however a row of *guttæ*, or drops, pendent from the cornice all round, which gives a very rich effect to the otherwise plain mouldings. Inside there is a figure of the Bull Nandi.

C—The second temple in size is named after *Mârkanḍa Rishi*, who is said to have been a brother of Mârkanḍ. It consists of a hall two-thirds open, a small anteroom and a

¹ See Plate XXIX

² See Plates XXVI and XXIX, for a plan and a pillar of this temple

sanctum The hall is 27 feet 6 inches by 25 feet outside. In front there are four short pillars standing on a low wall, with a door in the middle. On each side there are two similar pillars and one pilaster forming two-thirds of the side length of the hall, the remaining third being closed by a wall. In the middle are four richly carved pillars for the support of the pyramidal roof¹. Over the sanctum rises the usual lofty spire curving in towards the top, and crowned with two amalaka fruits one above the other. The spire is square in plan with the corners indented, and at each of the four angles at the neck of the pinnacle is placed the figure of a bearded Rishi with matted hair. The spire is nearly perfect, and is a very graceful specimen of Indian architecture. The temple is dedicated to Siva, as shown by the lingam placed in the sanctum, and the two figures of the Bull Nandi in front of the *antarāla*, or antechamber.

D—This small temple of 10 feet by 7 feet contains a symbol of Siva named *Jodh-Ling*, regarding which I could not obtain any information. The entrance is to the east.

E—This is another temple dedicated to Siva as *Mritunjaya*, or the “conqueror of death.” It contains the usual lingam in the sanctum, with figures of Ganesa and Vishnu in the hall, and a small figure of Ganesa over the entrance to the sanctum. The temple is 18½ feet long by 10 feet broad, and faces the east. On the left jambs of the door there is engraved a curious account of some measurements, of which I have not yet been able to unravel the meaning. The whole of the writing is given in the accompanying plate². There are two columns of figures, one on the left hand having reference to *dharini*, or “the earth,” and the other on the right to Gangā, or the river Wen Gangā, which flows past the enclosure. I read the different entries as follows—

Dharini gay	714	Gangā	12
Bhābhū	311	Gangā	60
* * *	286	Gangā	124
Ēta gṛ tā tu	1314	Gangā Sampalana	196

Below this last line there is a rude sketch of a man's head, with the left arm holding a book. It will be observed that both sets of figures are totalled up below, the sum of the three left-hand numbers being 1314, and that of the three

¹ See Plates XXVI and XXIX for a plan and a pillar of this temple.

² See Plate XXIX for a pillar, and basement section of this temple.

right-hand numbers 196 I can only make a guess that they may refer to two different classes of offerings which the owner of the rudely-sketched head may have made to the temple

F—This is the only temple that I have met with dedicated to *Yama*. As he is called *Jam-dhamrāj* by the officiating Brahmin, there can be no doubt that it is the god of the lower world who gives his name to the temple, although there is only a lingam of Siva enshrined inside. On each side of the door of the sanctum there is a very richly carved group of Siva and Parvati. This temple is placed exactly opposite that of *Mrityunjaya*, with its entrance facing the west. It is 16 feet long by 10 feet broad, being only a little less in length than the other. The two temples are clearly connected by position, and I conclude that the intention of the builder was to represent Siva in the two-fold capacity as *Yama*, or "death," and as *Mrityunjaya*, or the "conqueror of death" by reproduction.

G—the temple of *Umā Makeswara* is another Saiva fane, *Umā* being only another name for Pārvatī.

J—*Raj-rājeswara* is a simple lingam without any traces of a temple.

The remaining temples with the single exception of X, do not require any particular description, as they are all dedicated to Siva under different names, and contain lingams.

X—The temple of the *Das Avātān*, or ten incarnations of Vishnu, is an open cloister, 75 feet long by 7 feet wide inside, placed against the western wall of the enclosure. It is divided into twelve compartments by pilasters, two of the divisions being probably intended for statues of Vishnu, and the remaining ten for the *Avātān*s. In front of the eight middle divisions there are seven pillars resting on a low wall, as shown in the accompanying plate,¹ the two divisions at each end being closed by a wall, with a door leading into the first and twelfth compartments. Outside there is a continuous projecting cornice running the whole length of the building, above which rise twelve pyramidal spires, being one separate roof for each of the twelve shrines. One of these is represented in the plate.² In each division there is a pedestal, but several of them are now empty. There are two tortoise incarnations, one flat, and one upright. The boar

¹ See Plate XXVI

² See Plate XXVII

incarnation is also in its place. The Narsinh-Avatâr has been taken inside the Mârkanda temple, and the Kâlkî-Avatâr is lying outside broken. All the other incarnations have disappeared, unless, perhaps, the naked Jain-looking figure may have been intended for the *Bodh-Avatâr*. I searched in vain for inscriptions which might have given a clue to the age of this temple. I am satisfied that it is older than any of the Saiva temples which I have just described, and I am inclined to look upon it as a part of the original enclosure, and to assign it to a period two or three centuries earlier than the date of the lingam temples. There is a similar arrangement at Garhwâ, where a long cloister was dedicated to the Avatârs of Vishnu, long before the erection of the lofty detached temple to Siva. In this case we know positively from the inscriptions on both statues and temple that the former are at least two centuries earlier than the Siva lane. Almost every where the worship of Vishnu appears to have prevailed from the seventh to the tenth century, when it was forcibly supplanted by the more fashionable worship of Siva's lingam.

I have already noticed in their proper places the short inscriptions which are found on the pillars and door-jambs of the temples. There are similar records also on the rocks, but they are too much injured to be legible. All of these are of middle age, ranging from the middle of the tenth century down to 1500 A. D. But on two of the old square monoliths there are characters of a much more ancient date. On one of them there are only three letters remaining, *prâ-yâ-Si*, but these are sufficient to show that the pillar cannot be later than the fifth or sixth century¹. The letters are near the top of the stone, and below there is a male figure with four arms, carrying a battle-axe, and attended by two females. A snake encircles his waist, which may perhaps serve to identify the figure with Siva, but there is no other trace of that god, so far as I could see. . .

A second square monolith with a moulded capital is inscribed on three faces². Its characters are somewhat older than those of the other pillar, say of the sixth or seventh century. The two lines on the left face of the pillar apparently form a distinct record, of which the latter half of the second line is in much smaller characters. The main record

¹ See Plate XXX fig. 5 for a copy of these three letters.

See Plate XXX fig. 1.

begins at the top of the middle face with the words “ *Swasti Sri* ” Several of the letters are rather doubtful, but they appear to me to read somewhat as follows —

<i>Middle face</i>	{	1 —Swasti Sri Samyidha
		2 —jna Chila badra chigi
		3 —posā dhi ha * lu ma
		4 —* budhi suchandra sishya
		5 —nta Chaitanyama sute
<i>Right face</i>	{	1 —* * bra * *
		2 —* thu la * *
		3 —nya dha di yagi
		4 —ma yi badi nga bra
		5 —Sata di * * ba

Apparently this last inscription on the right face, which is in much larger letters, has no connection with that on the middle face I can make nothing of them, but so little is lost that I believe the whole may be deciphered by a competent Sanskrit scholar

28 —GONDS OR GAUDAS

The country of the Gonds received from the Muhammadans the convenient name of Gondwana. But the actual districts occupied by the Gonds did not comprise more than one-third of the wide region of Muhammadan writers, which included all the wild tracts of Central India lying between Kândēs and Orissa. The true Gond country is the long table-land which gives rise to the Tapti, the Wardā, the Wen Gangā, and the Narbadā, and comprises the districts of Betul, Chhindwāra, Seoni, and Mandala. In ancient times this territory would appear to have been called *Gauda* or *Gaur*, the “western” *Gauda* of Wilford. In A D 1042 *Gauda* formed part of the dominion of Karna Deva, Raja of Chedi. In A D 812 Karka, Râshtrakuta, Raja of Lâteswara, saved the king of Mâlava from the kings of Gauda and Gurjjara. About A D 780, or one generation before A D 808, the Râshtrakuta Râja, named Paura, invaded Mau [the country of Vatsa Raja] who was “intoxicated with the wealth of the king of Gauda.” In A D 606 Râjya Vardhana, the king of Kanauj, invaded Mâlava with 10,000 horse, and killed the king, but was himself slain by Gupta, king of Gauda. From all these notices we learn that the territory of *Gauda* must have bordered on Chedi and Mâlava, as well as on the country of the Râshtrakuta, Princes of Beiâr. All these

requirements are most satisfactorily met by the position and limits of the country actually inhabited by the Gonds, or Gondwana proper, which must therefore have formed part of the ancient Gauda, or the western *Gau*.

The name of *Gond* is simply a corruption of Gauda. In the northern Gauda, or Uttara Kosala, the chief town is still named *Gauda*, which the Muhammadans before us corrupted to Gonda. On the finger-posts leading to the place, the Nāgaṇī गैड *Gauda* and the English *Gonda* are placed side by side. I spent several months in the Central Provinces, and I never once heard the aborigines called *Gond*, but always *Gor*. Now, as *Gauda* is a pure Sanskrit word, it would seem that this was not then true name, and that it must have been derived from the country in which they dwelt. This appears the more probable when we learn that they do not call themselves either *Gond* or *Gor*, but *Koutur*. It is also strongly confirmed by the fact that there are no Gonds in the northern Gauda, or Uttara Kosala, and none in the eastern Gauda or western Bengal. This being the case, it follows that, when Gaudas are mentioned, the name does not necessarily refer to the aborigines now called Gonds, but may belong to the rulers who held the country of Gauda at the time, as in the instance of Kaina Deva, the Kulachuri ruler of Chedi, who calls himself also king of Gauda.

This conclusion, however, refers only to the rulers of the country, and not to the bulk of the population, which even in the time of Ptolemy would appear to have been the aboriginal Gond. In his day the large district at the head of the *Nanagana*, or Tapti River, was occupied by the *Kondali* or *Gondali*, a name which has been generally identified with that of the Gonds. But their country is described as *para Phullitum*, the *Phullitæ* themselves being placed more to the north. I take this name to be a pure Greek one, *φυλλίται*, descriptive of the "leaf-clad" aborigines. Varāha Mihira notices the *Parna-Sabaras*, or "leaf-clad Sauras", and we know that the Juangs of the present day still preserve this primitive costume. I believe therefore that there may have been *Parna Gaudas*, or "leaf-clad Gonds," in the time of Ptolemy, and that these are the people intended by his *Phullitæ-Gondali*.

My explanation of Gauda as a geographical term which gave its name to the Gond people, instead of having received it from them, is still further confirmed by the fact that

numerous temples which are said to have been built by the Gonds, were certainly not erected by them. Thus the temples at Dudahi, Chandpoie, and Deogarh, all in the Lalitpur district, have been attributed to the Gonds. But this assignment is quite impossible, as we know from their inscriptions that at the time they were erected the country was possessed by the Chandels of Mahoba. The same assertion is made about Garha naou Jabalpur, to which may be given a similar answer that the country was then possessed by the powerful Kulachuri Rajas of Chedi-des. I suspect that these erroneous statements have originated in the accessions of rubbish which in later times have been shot into the *Puthi-râj râyasâ* of Chand. In that poem there are three passages which, as they at present stand, are undoubted anachronisms that must have been forced into the text by some copyist at a much later date. At the breaking out of the war between Puthuraj Chauhan, and Paimâl Chandel of Mahoba, the Chandel bud, named Jagnik, was sent to Kanauj to induce the two Banâphar heroes, Alha and Udal, to return to Mahoba for the defence of their country. Alha replies to Jagnik—

Suni Jagnik, yeh bāt sunāni,
 Hamayharāj kochhu nahī jāni,
 Ham sir bāndhi Mahoba rakhiv,
 Nūp Chandel jugal mukh dik khiv,
 Ham mare bai Gauna, Deogarh, Chāndā-wāre,
 Ham Jādo kari juddh ghāi Chandel udhāre,
 Ham Kathariya kari Paimāl des dal,
 Ham kotik kari bān luti hinc sabke bal

Here the Banâphar chief consents to return to Mahoba, and then, after the fashion of the Homeric heroes, boasts of his own exploits—

‘ We conquered the whole of Gauna, Deogarh, Chānda, we fought with the Jādon and saved the Chandels, we cut off the *Kathariya* for the sake of Paimāl, and plundered every king around ’

In the same strain he continues his anachronisms—

Ham āge Pātisāhi phōj bhāgi das bārah—

“ Before us the Padshahi army ten and twelve times fled ”

Mewāt mari padhar kariya Antarbēd dahāyo,

Banghel mari basudhā hari garh Chandel lagaiyo—

“ We hurried Mewāt and frightened Antarbēd, we plundered the Banghel, and brought his wealth to the palace of the Chandel ”

In another passage the minister of Prithirâj addresses his master—

Kânan suni *Chahuân* kahe baiday manti gatî,
 Piatham des *Paumâl* rahyo Jasiâj senipati,
Garha jay nrip lâgi parî *Gaudan* son jangah,
 Paryo jâl Chandel dah dhaini-dhai angah,
 Rokiyô sem ari sem sab kâni maian dhanin dhariya,
 Kheliyo vyâl bin sîs dhai kâni jay phatch kariya,
Garha nagai Chandel suniyo,
 • Gandasu mile juddhitari huiyo,
 Bhagi sem dekhi Jasiâjah,
 Dinlon sis swamiko kajah,

The path of this long story is simply that *Paumâl* invaded *Garha*, and was defeated by the *Gaudas* (Gonds), but was saved by his general Jasiâj, who lost his life in defence of his master.

In a third passage is described the fight between Udal Banâphar and Kanh Châuhan, the brother of Prithirâj the latter is made to say—

Tabe Kanh bolyo mahâ ros hoc,
 Suno nand Jasiâjke bêt soc,
 Jhân *Gau* nahi *Garha* mai jâno,
 Awe Kanh Châuhan son juddhithâno

“Then said Kanh in a great rage,

‘Hear, O son of Jasiâj, it is not the *Gau* of *Garha* whom you conquered, but Kanh Châuhan with whom you have to fight.’”

In these three passages the *Gaudas of Garha* are most probably intended for the Gonds, as *Garha* was their capital some centuries later. But it is absolutely certain from the Kulachuri inscriptions of Tewar, only a few miles from *Garha*, that in Samvat 1239 or A. D. 1182, when Prithirâj defeated *Paumâl*, the country of Chedi, of which Tewar was the capital, was still in the possession of the *Hahaya Kulachuris*. Deogarh and Chânda were also two well-known capitals of the Gonds in later days, but it is very doubtful whether Deogarh was a separate principality in the time of Prithirâj, and it is quite certain that both places were beyond the reach of Alha and Udal, as the territory of the Kulachuris of Chedi, extending along both banks of the *Naibada*, lay between the Chandels and the Gonds. My impression is that the popular canto of Chandel's poem called the *Mahoba-khand* or *Alha-khand*, in which the conquest of

Mahoba is related, has been largely interpolated by the Chandel bards, and that to them we are indebted for the mention of *Garha*. It is quite possible that *Deogarh* and *Chanderi*, the two great forts on opposite sides of the Betwa, may have fallen into the hands of the Kulachuris of Chedi after the death of Kirtti Varmma, and that they were recovered by Alha and Udal. In later times this exploit was magnified into the capture of the more distant forts of Deogarh and Chânda, to the south of the Narbada, and the Gauda of Western India was held to be the country of the Gonds of Garha. In favour of this explanation is the fact that the Kulachuri Haihayas of Chedi had fought with the Chandels of Mahoba during the reign of Madana Varmma, only a few years before the accession of Parmâl. In the Mhau inscription it is said of Madana Varmma, "from whose name even the king of Chedi, vanquished in the fierce fight, ever quickly flees." We know that Gauda was in the possession of Karna Deva of Chedi in the end of the eleventh century, and I am not aware of any reason for supposing that it had passed out of the hands of the Kulachuri princes during the following century. If by the Gauda of Garha we are to understand the aboriginal Gonds, then the statement is clearly an anachronism, but if we may accept it as referring to the Kulachuri Haihayas as kings of Gauda and Garha, then the passage may remain unchallenged. But in this case the two forts of Deogarh and Chânda must be identified with the two great forts of Deogarh and Chanderi, on the opposite banks of the Betwa, in preference to the two more distant forts of Deogarh and Chânda to the south of the Narbada.

By identifying the country of the Gonds with the Western *Gauda*, we get a glimpse of their history in the very beginning of the seventh century. The account is given in Bâna's *Harsha Charita*, of which notices have been published by Professor Hall and Dr. Bhau Dâji. The earlier portion of the story is given by Professor Hall as follows¹ —

"Râjyavardhana [the elder son of Piabhûkara Vardhana, king of Kanauj], by command of his father, made an expedition to the north against the Hûra-Hûris [this must have been in A.D. 606]. Husha [his younger brother] followed him. While hunting on the skirts of the Kîmîlîyas, a domestic Karangaka brought intelligence that the king was critically ill. Harsha listened back, and was just in time to

see him expire. On the very day of Prabhākara Vindhana's decease, Grahayirman was murdered by the king of Malava, who also threw Rājyasū into chains. This took place at Kinauj.

Grahayirman, son of Avantivairman, of the Munkhura family, was husband of Rājyasū. As we do not find it stated distinctly that the king of Malava had aggressed on Kinauj, we should understand, it may be, Grahayirman owed his death to the son of that sovereign, who, it is said, was staying at the Kinaujan Court. Apparently, he was there in the character of hostage, and perhaps he received the assistance of troops from his home unexpectedly.

Rājyavardhana, taking with him Bhindin, a subject of high rank, by whom his education had been superintended, and an army of ten thousand horses, marched to attack the king of Malava. Him he slew, but his own fate was defeat and death at the hands of Gupta, king of Gunda, of which the news was brought back by Kuntala, a chief officer of cavalry. Sinhanada and Skandigupta, the generalissimos, urge Husha to make reprisals, and they lose no time in embarking on the enterprise.

"The account of Harsha's progress towards the south-east I omit. Before he could reach Gunda, Bhindin arrived with spoils of the Malavas. Enquiries were at once made for Rājyasū. She had escaped from Kinauj, and fled towards the Vindhya mountains. Thence Harsha directs his steps. He is visited by Bhukampa, a military retainer to some local dignity, Vyaghriketu, son of Sāmbhiketu. These names, by-the-by, seem to be coinages suggested by the fancied fitness of circumstances. Bhūkampa knows nothing of Rājyasū's present quarters, and recommends that Husha should seek for information at the neighbouring hamlet. She is discovered when on the very point of burning herself."

The latter part of the story is given by Dr. Bhau Dâji as follows¹ —

"Rāja Harsha having entered the wilds of the Vindhya mountains, travelled in all directions for many days for the discovery of his sister, Rājyasū. He met a chief named Vyaghriketu, son of Sāmbhiketu. He introduced to the king Nirghâti, the Commander-in-Chief of the Bhūkampa Sibiris. The king made inquiries of the Sibar Chief regarding Rājyasū; he replied that no woman answering to the description given by the king was known to have been seen in his jungles, but promised to make vigorous efforts for her discovery. He remarked that at the distance of two miles, on a hill with a thick wood at its base, there resided, with a number of disciples, a Buddhist Bhikshu, a mendicant (Pindipati) named Divākaramitā, who might possibly have heard of Rājyasū. Hearing this the king thought that Martiayana (Brahmana) Divākaramitā, the friend of Grahayirman, having abandoned the "way of the Vedas," in his youth put on brown clothes and embraced the Saugata creed. King Harsha, taking the Sibar Chief with him, proceeded to the abode of Divākaramitā. He admired the mountain scenery on the way, and got down from his conveyance on

approaching the hermit's residence. Having placed his hand on Madhavagupta's shoulder he with a few chiefs walked on. He found there followers of various schools, viz., Vitāṅgas, Arihantas, Māśakas, Svetāpatas, Pātārābhikṣus, (commentator), (in the text, Pāṇḍurābhikṣu), Bhāḡavatas, Varnins, Kṣalunchakas, Kāpilas, Kanadas, Aupaniśhadas, Aisvarias, Kṛimins, Kāṇḍharmins, Dharmasastrins, Pūrāṇikas, Sūptatintaras, Sibdas, Panchrātākas, and others. He also met Divākaramitā Bhikṣu, and made him obeisance. Divākaramitā seeing the king, said, 'To day our ascetics have even in this life borne us good fruit by giving us a sight of the beloved of the gods, at the expense of my own body, I am ready to do the king's business.' The king made inquiries regarding Rājyasri. It so happened that Rājyasri was at this time making preparations for self-cremation. An old female companion of Rājyasri went to a disciple of Divākaramitā and said, 'O mendicant! Prāṇijvā (the vow to abandon all worldly enjoyments) is generally full of mercy to all beings, and Śūngitis (Buddhists) are even intent on fulfilling the vow, to suffer themselves for the relief of the sufferings of others. The teaching of the Lord Śakyi Muni is the family abode of mercy, the goodness of Jinas ever ready for the benefit of the whole world, and the religious law (*dharma*) of the Munis is a way of securing future bliss. There is no meritorious action more praised in the world than that of saving life. Pray, therefore, prevent my companion from destroying herself by fire.' 'My Guru (Master)' said the disciple, 'is verily a second Śūngita (Buddhi), when I relate to him this account, he is sure to come. He is full of pity. By the good words of Śūngita, calculated to pierce the dark veil of sorrow, and by his own discourses, with illustrations culled and rendered weightier from the various Āgamas (scriptures), he would lead the good-natured lady to the path of knowledge.'

"Accordingly a Bhikṣu (mendicant) came and said,—'A woman in sorrow is ready to destroy herself by fire, not far from this abode.' Hearing this, the King, with Divākaramitā, proceeded quickly, followed by the King's retinue, to the place of the fire. With great difficulty she was persuaded to abandon her purpose, and they having succeeded in consoling her and soothing her sorrows, treated her to a dinner. The Rājā heard all that had happened from the time she was put in confinement in Kanyakubjā, and from which she was released by a descendant of the Gupta kings. She then heard of the death of Rājyavardhana, her eldest brother, on which she left off food and drink, and wandered through the woods of the Vindhya. Overcome with sorrow, she made preparations to burn herself. All this the King heard from her attendants."

From this account we learn that Prabhākara Vardhana, after having conquered and killed the King of Mālava, was himself defeated and slain by Gupta, King of Gauda. It is clear, therefore, that Gauda could not have been far from Mālava. But in the account of Prabhākara Vardhana's death given by Hwen Thsang, it would appear that it was instigated

by Sasāṅka, the King of Kirna-Suvaina¹ Professor HALL has suggested that his full name may have been Sasāṅka Gupta, but I learn from Dr. Bühler, that in the Jain books Sasāṅka is called Narendra Gupta. Putting all these statements together, it would seem that Sasāṅka, or Narendra Gupta, must have been the king of *Gauda* as well as of *Kirna-Suvaina*. From his inscription cut on the rock of Rohitās, we know that he had extended his rule northwards as far as that celebrated fortress, and from the different statements which I have just quoted about Rājya Vaidhana's death it may be inferred that the western *Gauda* was also included within his dominions.

When the news of his brother's death was brought to Harsha, he determined to take revenge, and at once marched towards *Gauda*. But on the way he was met by Bhandin with the spoils of the Mālanas. Up to this point his march is said to have been towards the south-east.² After the meeting with Bhandin he proceeded in search of his sister Rājyasū, who, after the death of her husband, had escaped from prison and fled to the Vindhya mountains. In his progress he encountered the Bhukampa Sabaras, an aboriginal race, whose chief is named *Vyāghra-ketu*, "the tiger-demon," son of *Sarabha-ketu*, "the monster-demon." As the general is called Nighātā, or the "man-slayer," all these names must be accepted as the inventions of the writer, which were considered appropriate for the chiefs of the *Bhukampa*, or "Earthquake" Sabaras. At the same time they appear to me to be a recognition of the former power of this now despised race. In a subsequent report I propose to give some account of the Sabaras, and to show by their inscriptions that they once had Kings of their own, bearing the title of Gupta. According to the statistics which I have collected, the number of the Western Sabaras at the present day is not less than 120,000 persons.

The *Sabarās* are mentioned in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* as one of the Dasyu races descended from Viśwamitra, and the *Māhabhārata* includes them amongst the seven races of Dasyus conquered by the Pāndus in the Great War. They appear also in Ptolemy's map in the same two divisions in which they are now found, the Eastern Sabaras, as *Sabaræ*, who are the Suarī of Phny, and the Western Sabaras

¹ Julien s Hwen I-tsing II. 248

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as *Soræ Nomades* But the Gonds are not mentioned in any of the old Hindu authorities, and the earliest notice of them that I am aware of is by Ptolemy under the name of *Gondali*

In the absence of other information we turn naturally to the traditions of the people themselves Like most other traditions, those of the Gonds are utterly wanting in dates, and extremely vague as to places But all the leading events are very striking, and from their remarkable similarity to the traditions of other far distant races, they possess an interest and an importance which, without it, would be altogether wanting

According to the Gond legend, *Lingo* was the leader who liberated the first men of the nation from a cave in *Káchikopa Lohagad*, or the "Iron-Valley in the Red Hill" The exact position of this valley is not stated, but it would seem to have been somewhere in the Himálava mountains, as Mount Dhavalagiri is mentioned Mahádeva is said to have closed the mouth of the cave with a large stone sixteen cubits high Lingo removed the stone, and "sixteen scores of Gonds" came out of the cave No meaning seems to be attached to the name of *Lingo*, but in Gondi, *lánggyá* means a "wolf," and in Maharathi, *longá*

According to the traditions of the Mughals, their ancestors were confined in the non-bound valley of *Irguene-kon*, from which they were delivered by *Bute-chino*, or the "Dun wolf" According to Abulghâzi Khan the ancestors of the *Turks* were liberated from the non-bound valley of *Irguna-kon* by *Bertezena* Every year the Khán of the Turks went to sacrifice in the cave of his ancestors in Mount Eikench-kun¹

Speaking of the ancient Getæ, Strabo remarks that Zamolxis, whom they revered as a god, "retired into a district of caverns" The mountain is held sacred, and is thus distinguished, being named *Kogaionos*

In all these legends we have a hero, the founder of the nation, connected with a cave In the eastern versions the cave is situated in a valley surrounded by *iron* mountains, from which the founder manages to liberate his people The resemblance between the tradition of Gonds and that of the Turks and Mughals seems too close to be accidental, and

¹ Dr Herbelot Bibliothèque Orientale VI 152 The name of the mountain is variously spell'd by different authors—see Gibbon C 42, and Pichard's Physical History of Man and IV 337

if not accidental, it would go far to prove the Tuamian origin of the Gonds. Dr Caldwell and Colonel Dalton both agree in classing the Gonds as Dravidians. But the former specially notes that "whilst he regards the grammatical structure and prevailing characteristics of the Dravidian idioms as in the main Scythian," he thinks that "they are allied not to the Turkish family, or to the Ugrian, or to the Mongolian, or to the Tungusian, but to the group or class in which all these families are comprised". He then points out that "the Scythian family to which, on the whole, the Dravidian languages may be regarded as most nearly allied, is the Finnish or Ugrian," and that this supposition derives some confirmation from the fact brought to light by the Behistun tablets, that the ancient Scythian race, by which the greater part of Central Asia was peopled prior to the eruption of the Medo-Persians, belonged, not to the Turkish, nor to the Mongolian, but to the Ugrian stock."

Dr Caldwell regards "the Dravidians as the earliest inhabitants of India, or at least as the earliest race that entered from the north-west." He also—

"feels convinced that the Dravidians never had any relations with the primitive Aryans, but those of a peaceable and frequently chimerical, and that if they were expelled from Northern India, and forced to take refuge in Gondwan and Dindak many, the great Dravidian forest, prior to the dawn of their civilization the tribes that subdued and thrust them southwards must have been pre-Aryans."

But these pre-Aryan-Scythians, by whom he supposes the Dravidians to have been expelled from the northern provinces, are not, "he says," to be confounded with the Kols, Santals, Bhils, Dôms, and other aboriginal tribes of the north. By whom, then, were the Dravidians expelled from Northern India? Dr Caldwell thinks that the Sudras may have been the conquering race.

"The tribes of Northern India whom the Aryans gradually incorporated in their community as Sudras, whoever they were, must have been an original and formidable race."

Here I agree fully with Dr Caldwell, that the Sudras were most probably the people with whom the Aryans came into contact in Northern India. But I think that he has unnecessarily hampered himself by supposing that the Dravidians entered from the north-west. On the contrary, I believe that they came from the west, and that they were

¹ Grammar of the Dravidian Languages, 2nd edition p p 76-77

the Accad or Accadians, a branch of the southern Turanians, who occupied Susiana and the shores of the Persian Gulf and Indian Ocean including the Delta of the Indus. From these seats they were eventually driven out by the Aryans of Ariana and Persia, when they retired to Southern India, leaving only a remnant of the nation behind in the Biahu mountains, where they still exist.

Under this supposition the Diavidians may have occupied the greater part of Southern India about the same time that the Aryans took possession of the Panjâb and Arjavanta, while the whole of Northern India was held by another Turanian people, who had entered long before from the north-west. The latter I believe to have been a Medo-Scythian race. Such of them as submitted were allowed to join the Aryan nation as a separate class under the name of Sudias, while the greater number retired to the east of the Karmanâsâ River, where they bade defiance to their enemies for several centuries.

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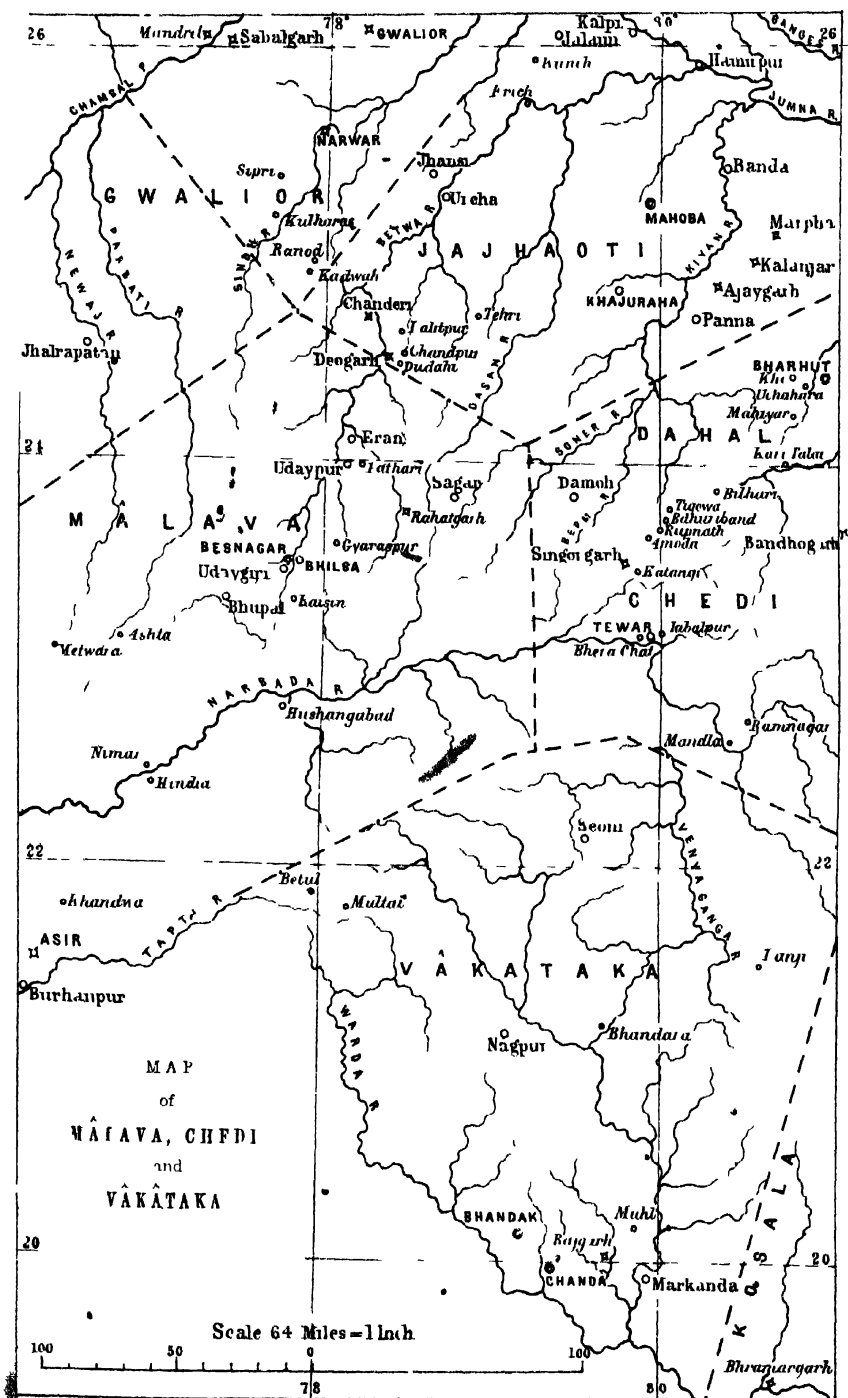
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 मेष्वनयममाहस्वत्रिकालगाधियतिनिर्द्धानजोपादितश्चे
 स्वयतिगडपतिनयतिनाड्याधियतिश्रीमन्नन
 सिंहदेवचलागावध्ववाभामकस्यमहारा
 जपुत्रश्रीकेयवाण्यपुत्रकलानदेवकस्यवदः
 सवत७०८ प्रावलसु दि७ बुद्ध॥

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नाडतथीवलालदेव

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 तिदेव। संध्यायउत्तीकनाविही॥ सा नाम॥
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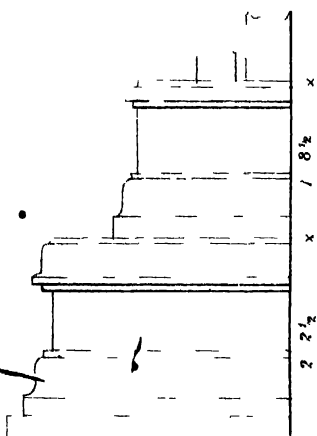
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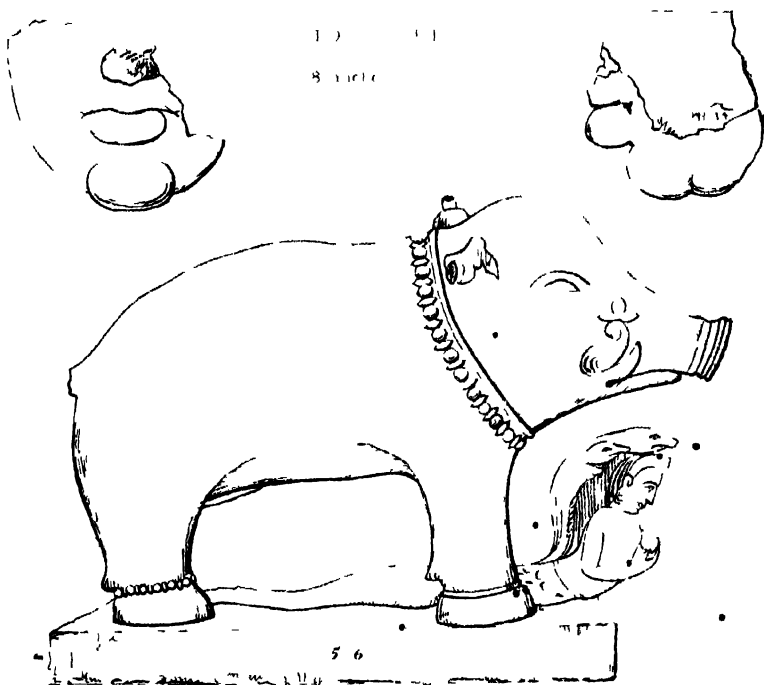
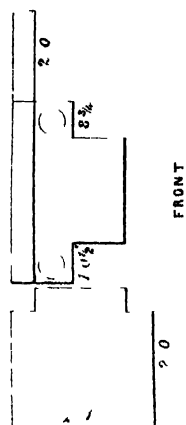
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 श्रिनहसौरपुस्रीयमवुंमरुदेवसतिहलेरोत्संतक
 वाजगवहनतमिपघुडो लिष तं कर्मपइककले

PEDISTAL FOR STATUES

Section



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THE GUPTAS AND THEIR SUCCESSORS

CHANDRA-GUPTA Vikramāditya



KUMARA GUPTA

— Mahendraditya



SKANDHA GUPTA — Kumarditya

Son of Kumara Gupta



SKANDHA GUPTA

UDHA — GUPTA



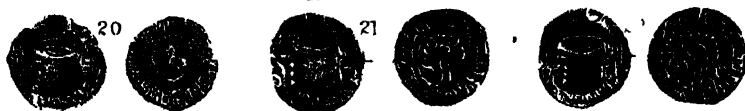
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TORAVANA



SANTI — VARMA



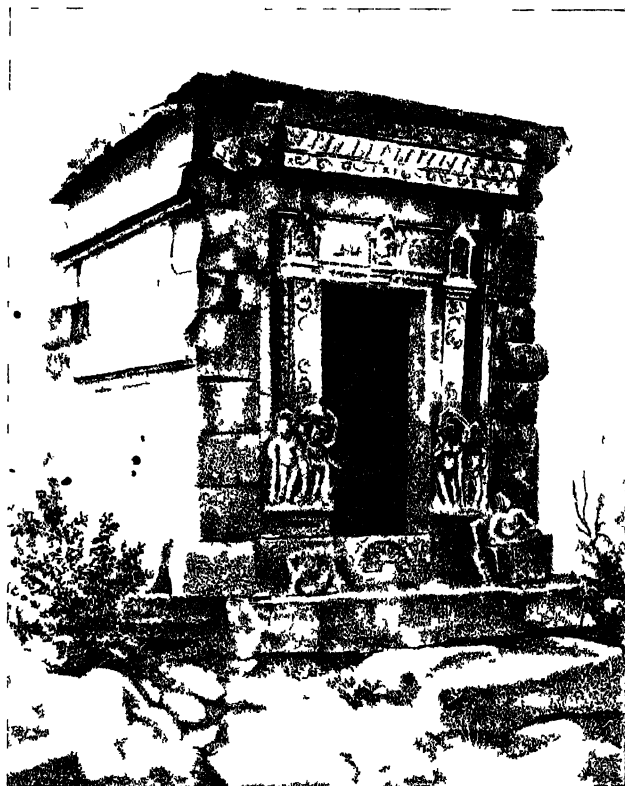
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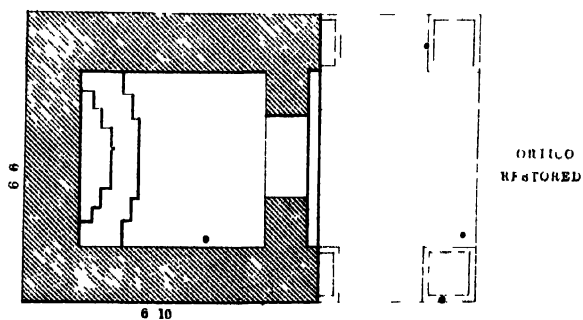
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RASHTRAKUTA



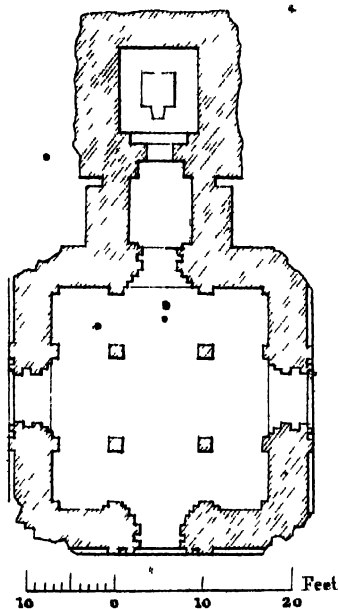


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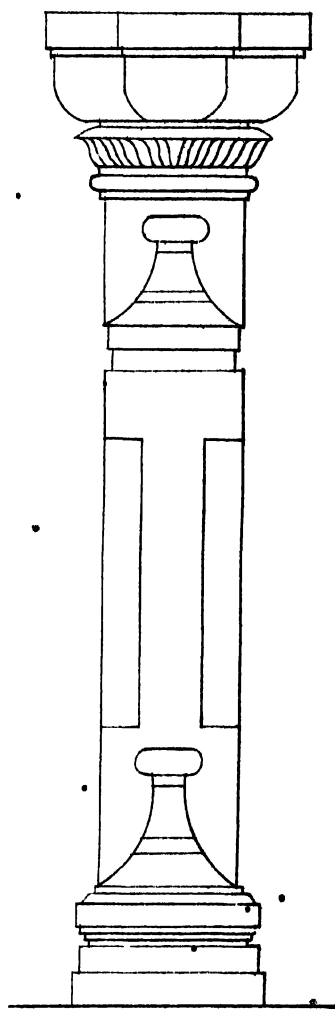
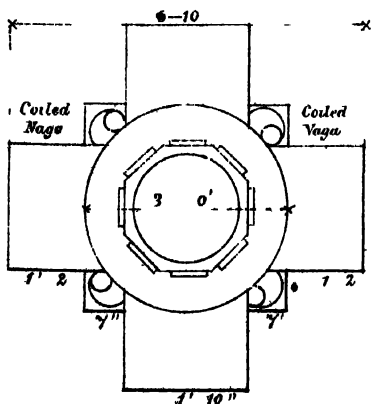


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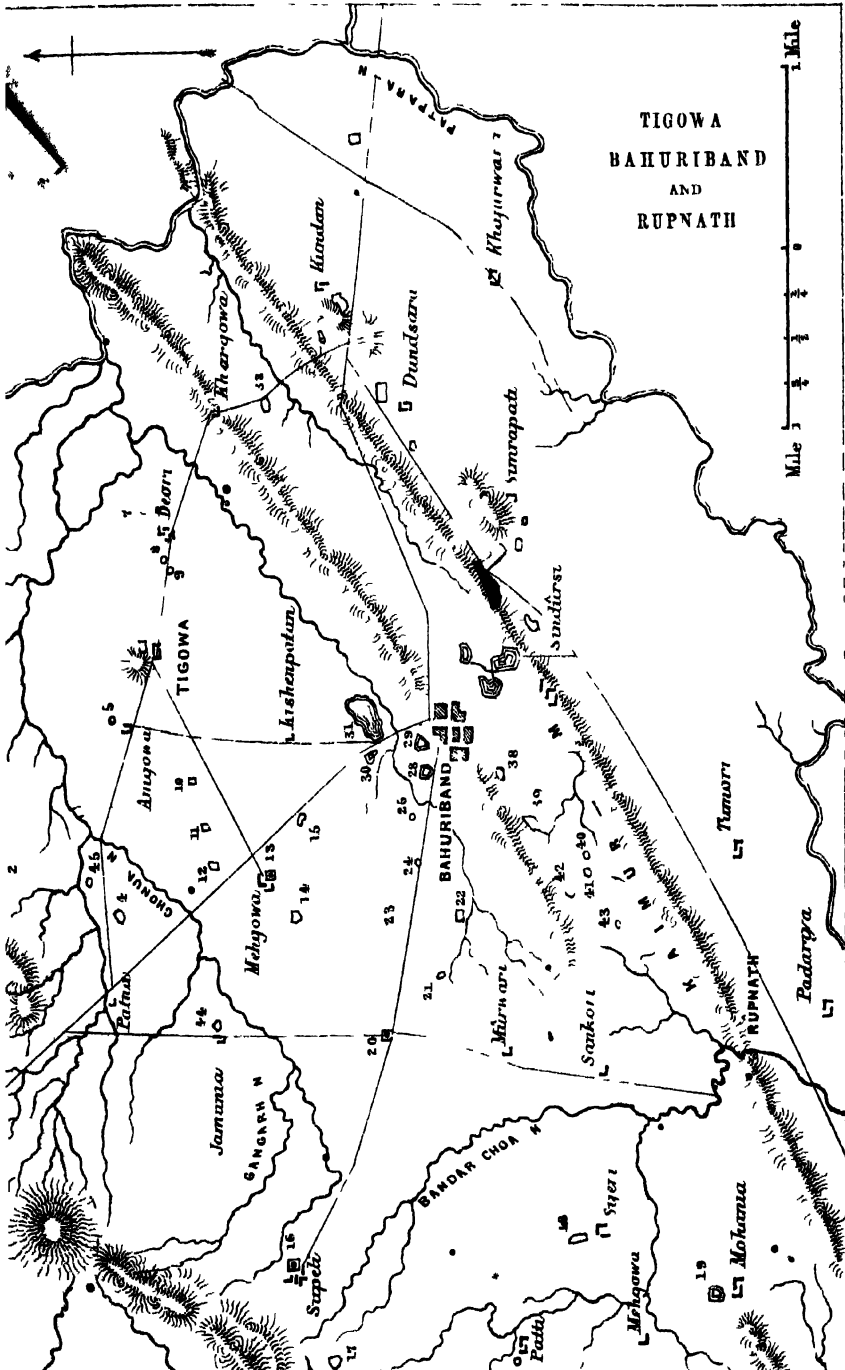
TEMPLE
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KÂM KANDALA



GRFAI BRACKET
TEMPLE OF VISHNU

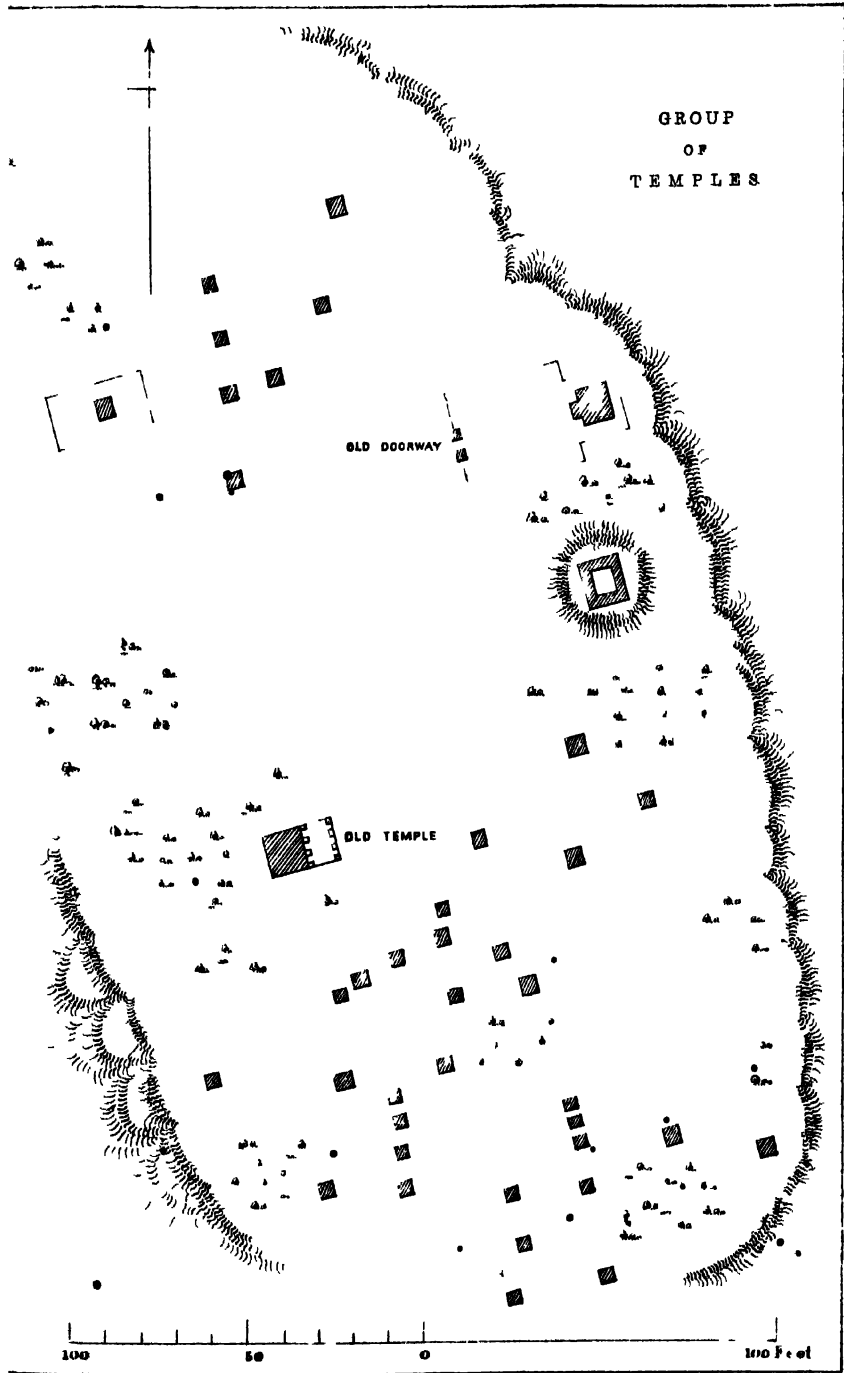


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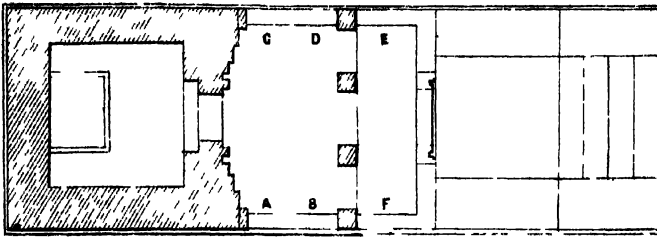
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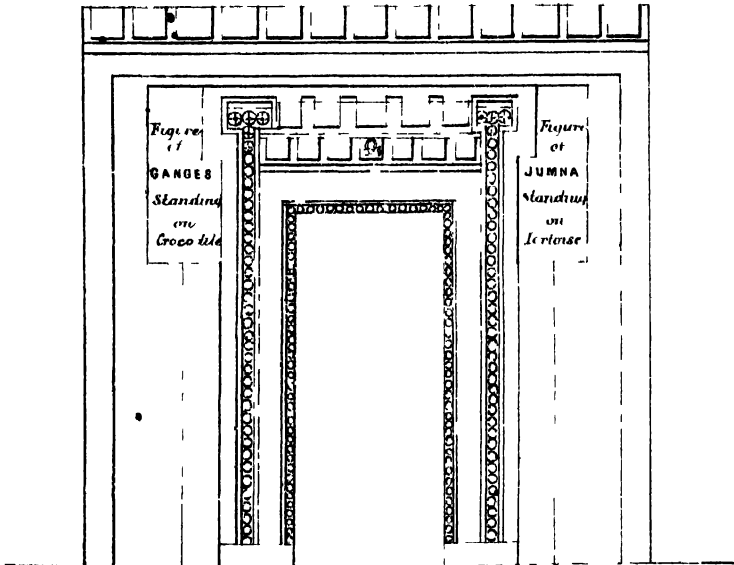
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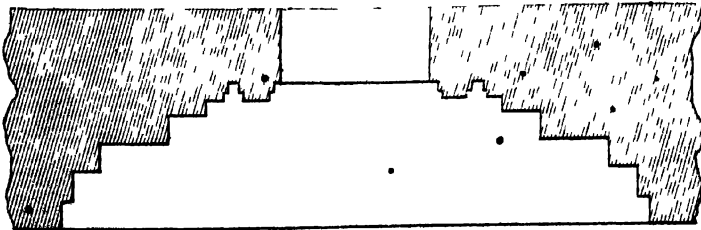
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MIDIEVAL ADDITIONS - PLAIN



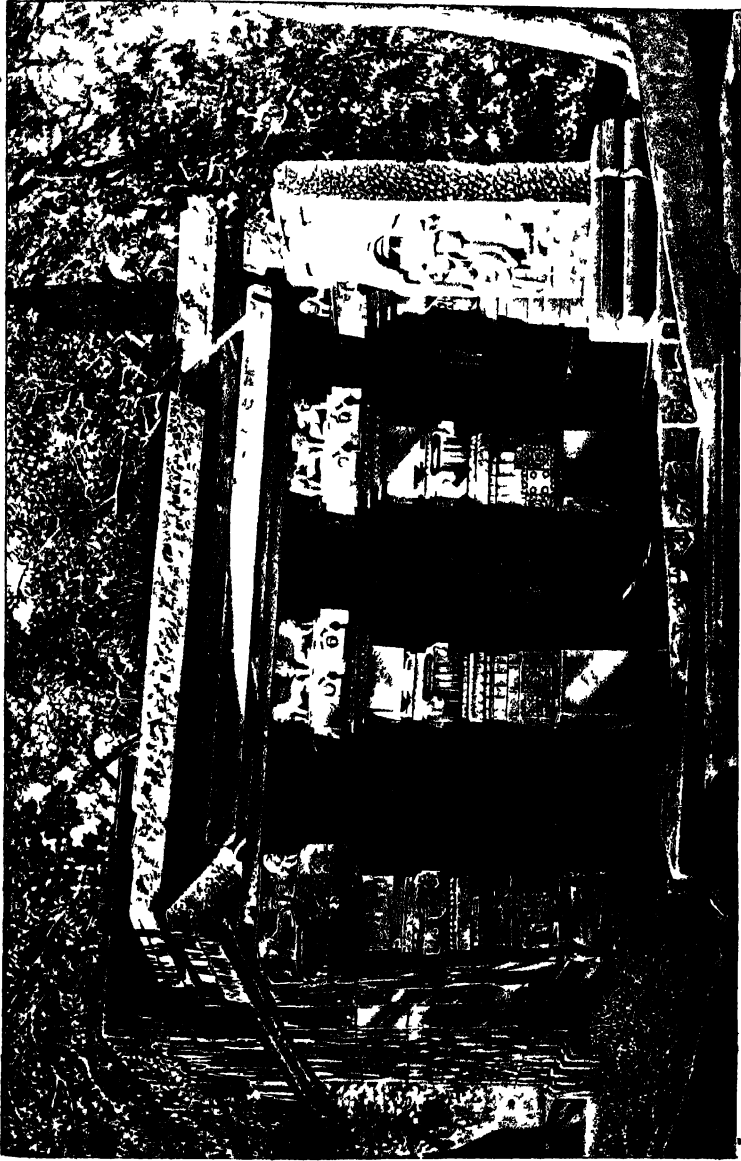
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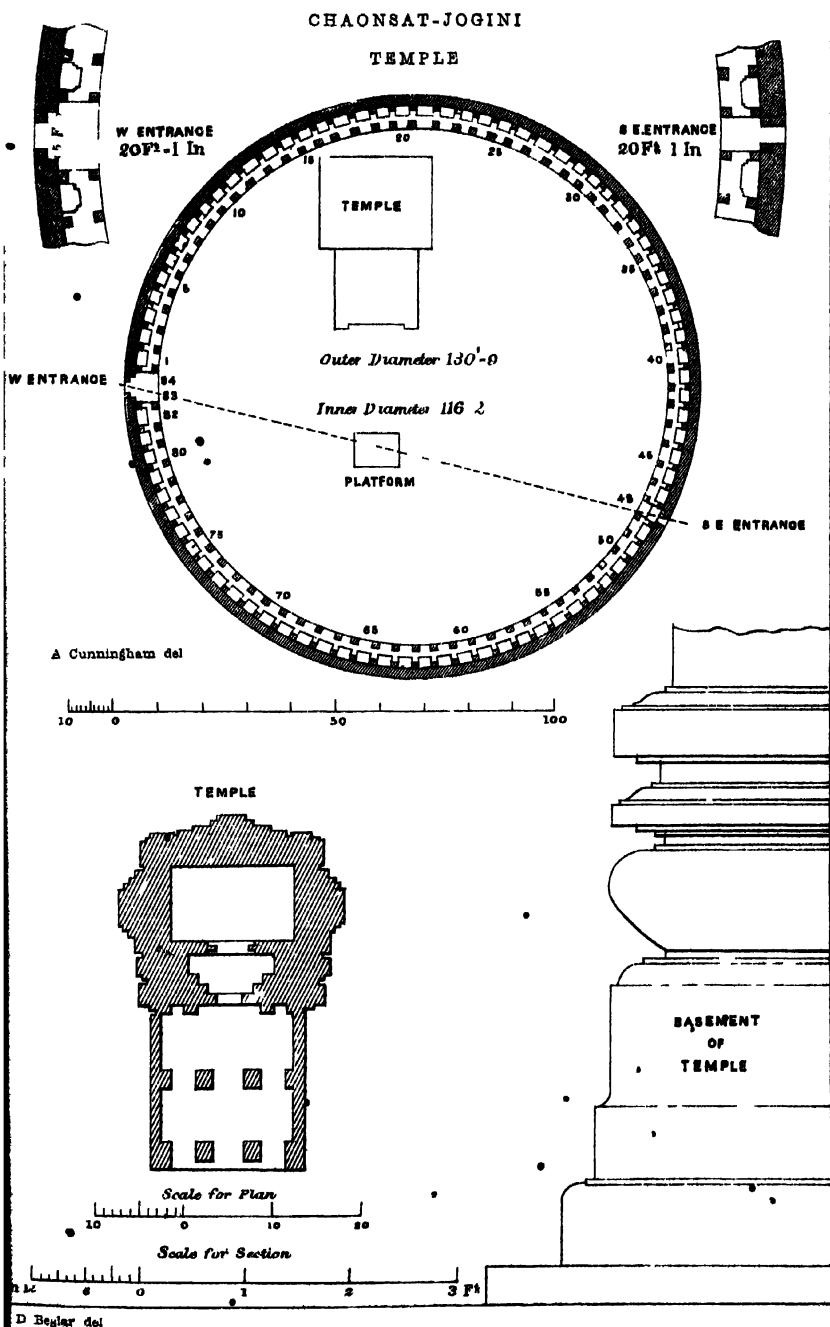
ELEVATION AND PLAN OF DOORWAY



Inches 1 6 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Feet



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from a Photograph by J D Beglar



BHERA-GHÂT

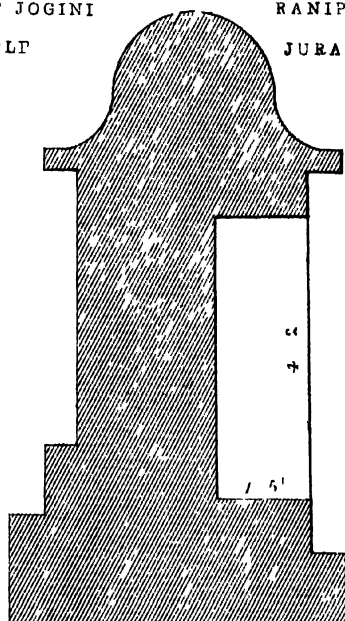
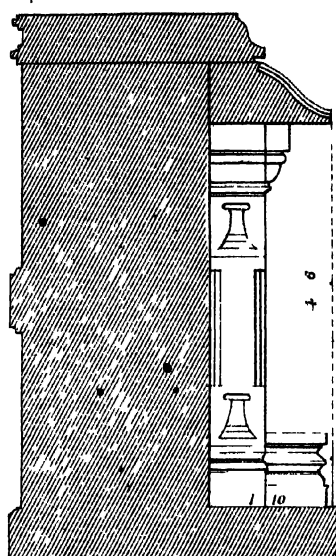
CHAONSAT JOGINI

RÂNIPUR

Supposed Original Design

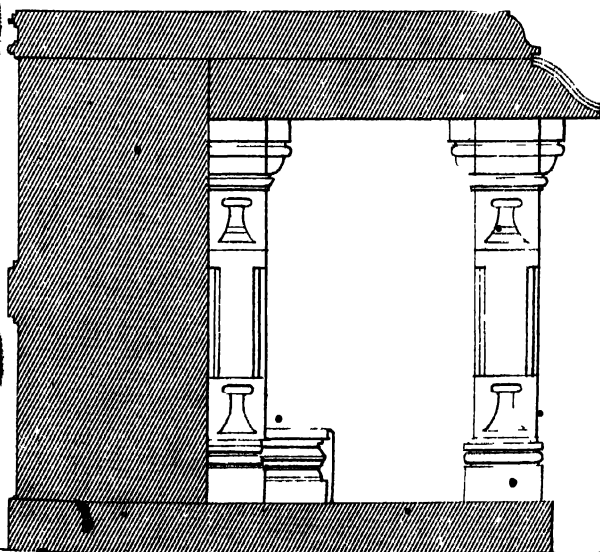
TEMPLE

JURAL



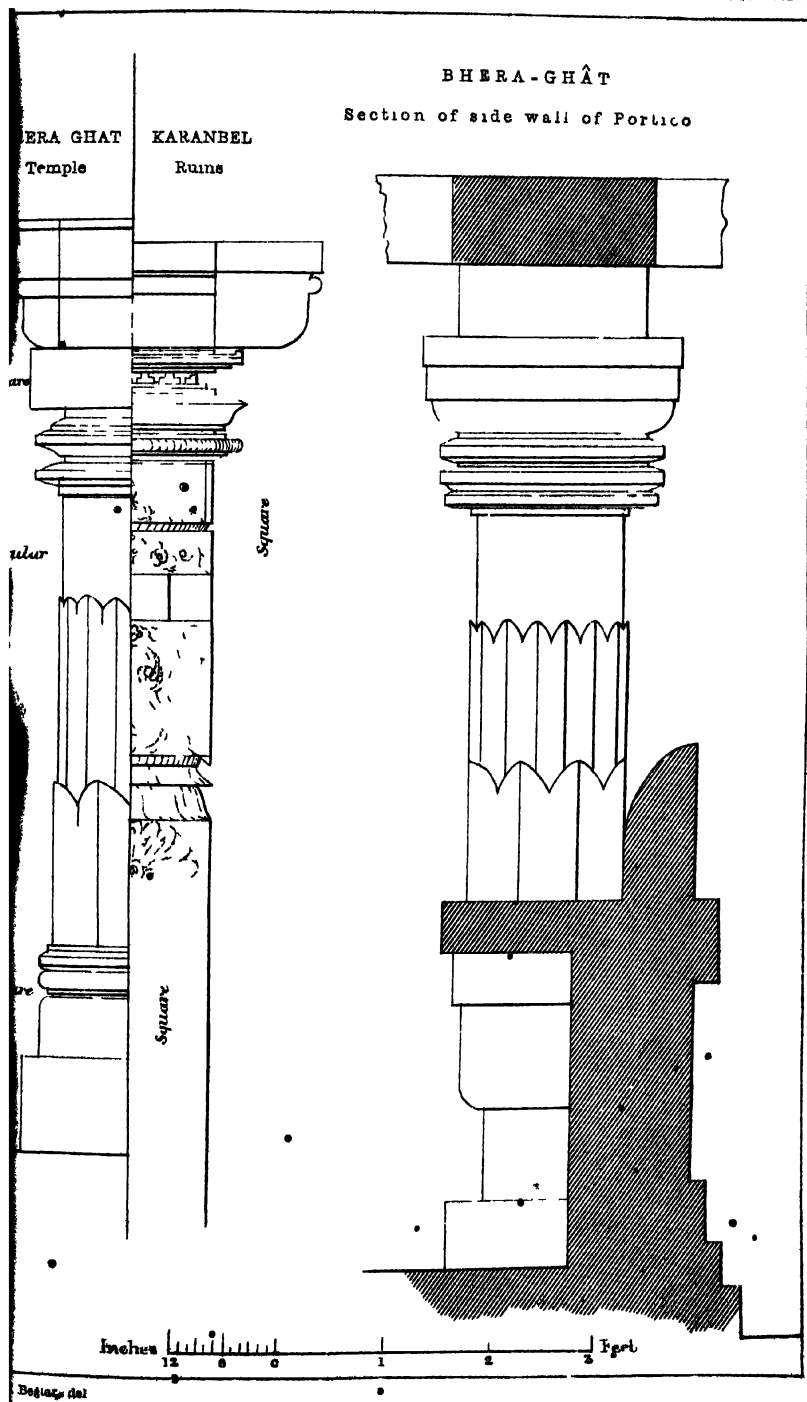
BHERA GHAT

Section



12 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Feet

Wingham del



INSCRIPTIONS ON THE STAIRS OF SHALIN

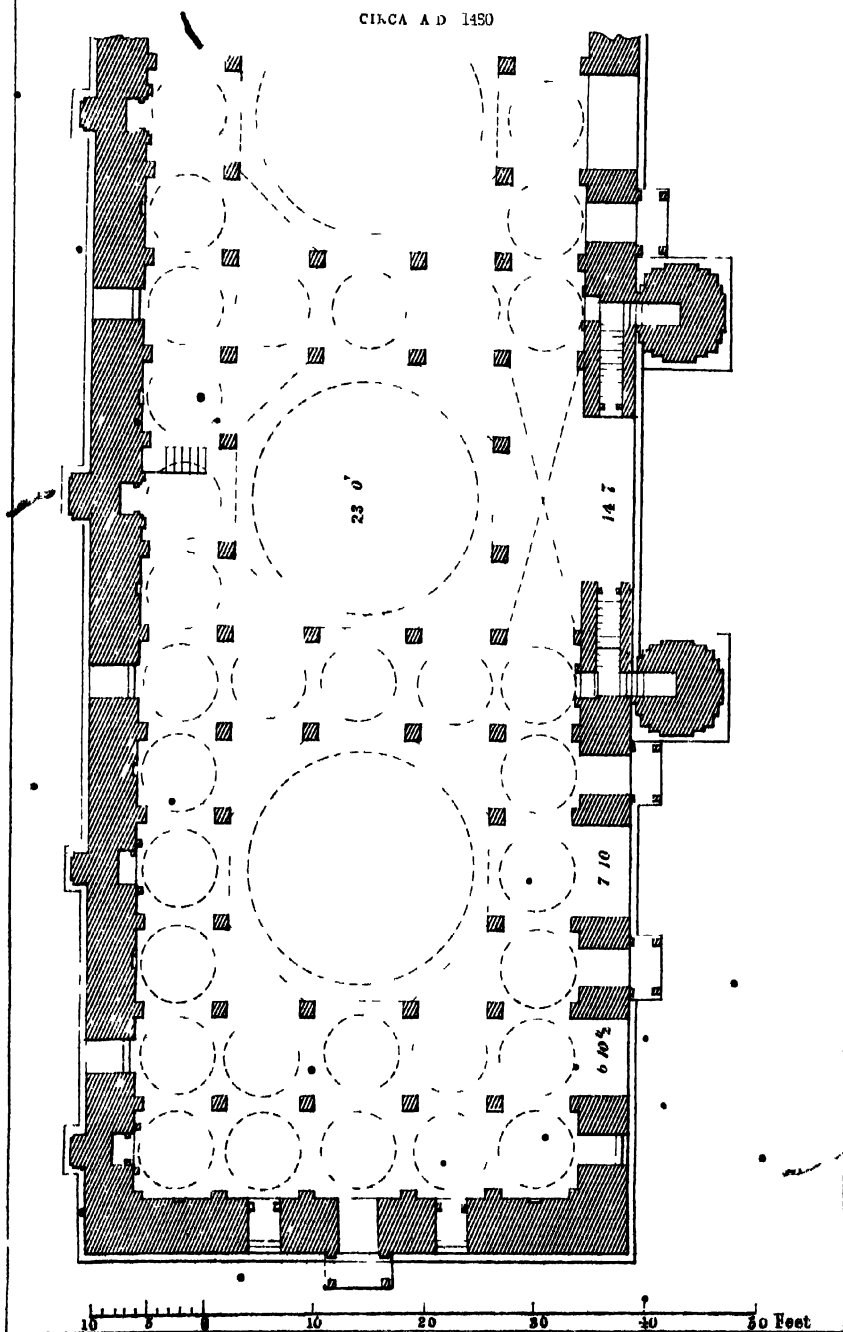
1 श्रीगणेशः।	28 श्रीसांवा री	54 श्रीचक्रिणी
2 श्रीकृष्णवरा	29 श्रीज्ञाद्रवी	55 श्रीतेरश
3 श्रीशक्तिता	30 श्रीराकिनी	57 श्रीपाटकी
4 श्रीचण्डिका	31 श्रीदैवकी	58 श्रीयात्राणा श्रीयात्रयेण
5 श्रीआरुद्रा	32 श्रीदय्यदारी	59 श्रीकुरुवर्द्धनी
6 श्रीकामदा	33 श्रीविद्युदी	61 श्रीसर्वनामुरवी
7 श्रीब्रह्माली	34 श्रीहृदिणी	62 श्रीमादादरी
8 श्रीमहेश्वरी	35 श्रीऽविणी	63 श्रीयेष्टुदी
9 श्रीठकारी	36 श्रीवांकिणी	64 श्रीज्ञाष्टुवी
10 श्रीजयवी	37 श्रीपटाली	65 श्रीअराग
11 श्रीपद्मदसा	38 श्रीठट्टरी	67 श्रीधिरविज्ञा
12 श्रीवर्णाजिना	40 श्रीगङ्गिनी	68 श्रीयमुका
14 श्रीहंसिनी	41 श्रीदीपली	70 श्रीवीरुआ
15 श्रीकुश्वरी	42 श्रीक्षतकुयवरा	71 श्रीमिहसिदा
16 श्रीगणा	43 श्रीगङ्गकी	72 श्रीवीलउम्बरा
18 श्रीकुङ्कुजाली	45 श्रीसुप्तरी	74 श्रीक्षेत्रकारी
21 श्रीधकिणी	46 श्रीवाराही	76 श्रीपिंगला
22 श्रीहलेष्टी	47 श्रीणालिनी	77 श्रीशुःश्वला
24 श्रीउन्नाला	50 श्रीकदिनी	79 श्रीकुरुवर्द्धिणी
25 श्रीलम्पट	51 श्रीकुङ्कुली	80 श्रीवीरेष्टी
26 श्रीऊरु	52 श्रीवरुरी	82 श्रीरीढालीद्वी
27 श्रीऽष्टमावा	53 श्रीसण्डी	

ALPHABETS COMPARED

	K	Kh	J	Ṭh	Dh	Ṭh	D	Dh	N	Bh	Y	L	S	Ṣ	H
BHĒRA GHĀT	क	ख	ङ	०	ठ	ध	द	व	रु	य	ल	श	स	रु	
LAKṢHMANA A D - 960	क	ख	ङ	०	ठ	ध	द	व	रु	य	ल	श	स	रु	
GAYA KARNA A D - 1130	क	ख	ङ	०	ठ	ध	द	व	रु	य	ल	श	स	रु	

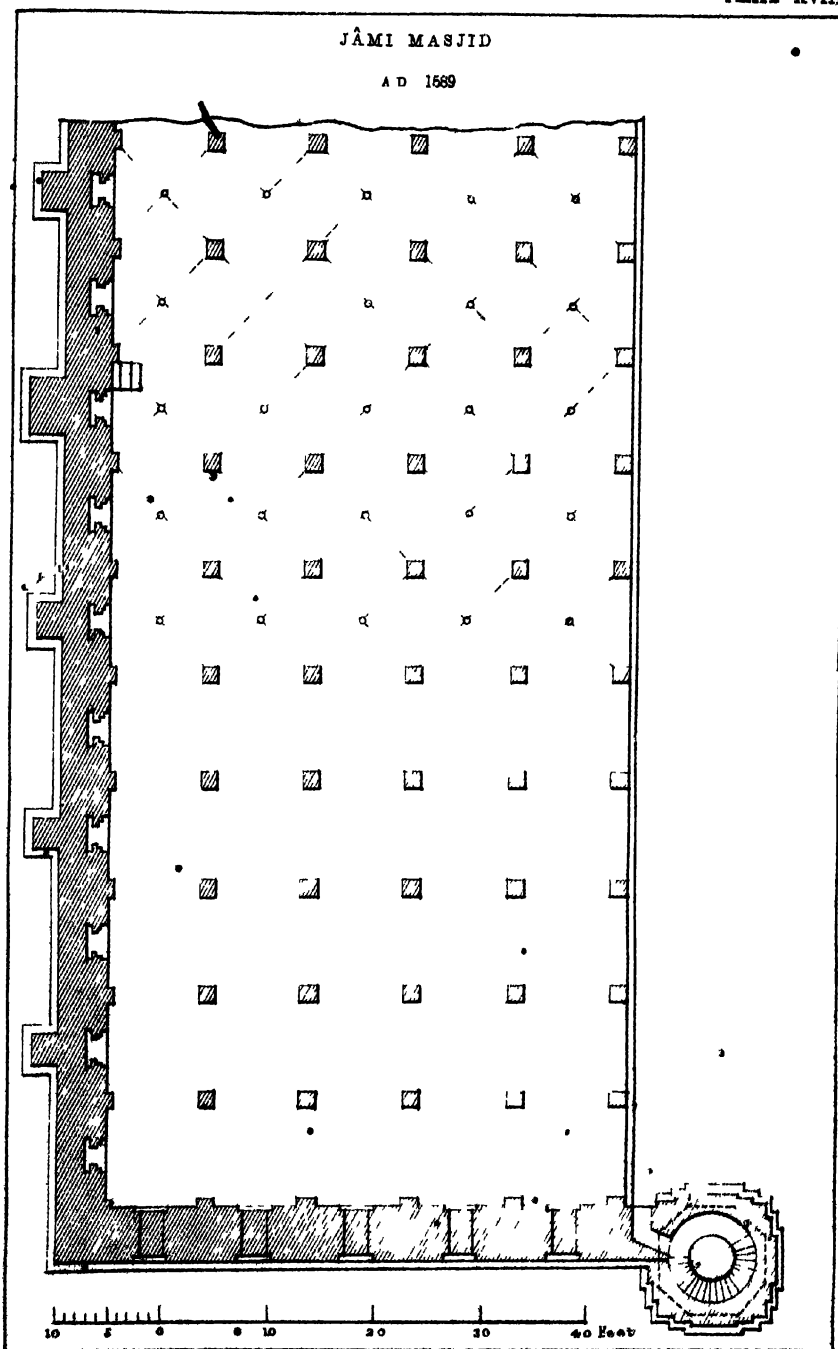
BIBI MASJID

CIRCA A.D. 1450



JÂMI MASJID

A D 1589



A Cunningham del

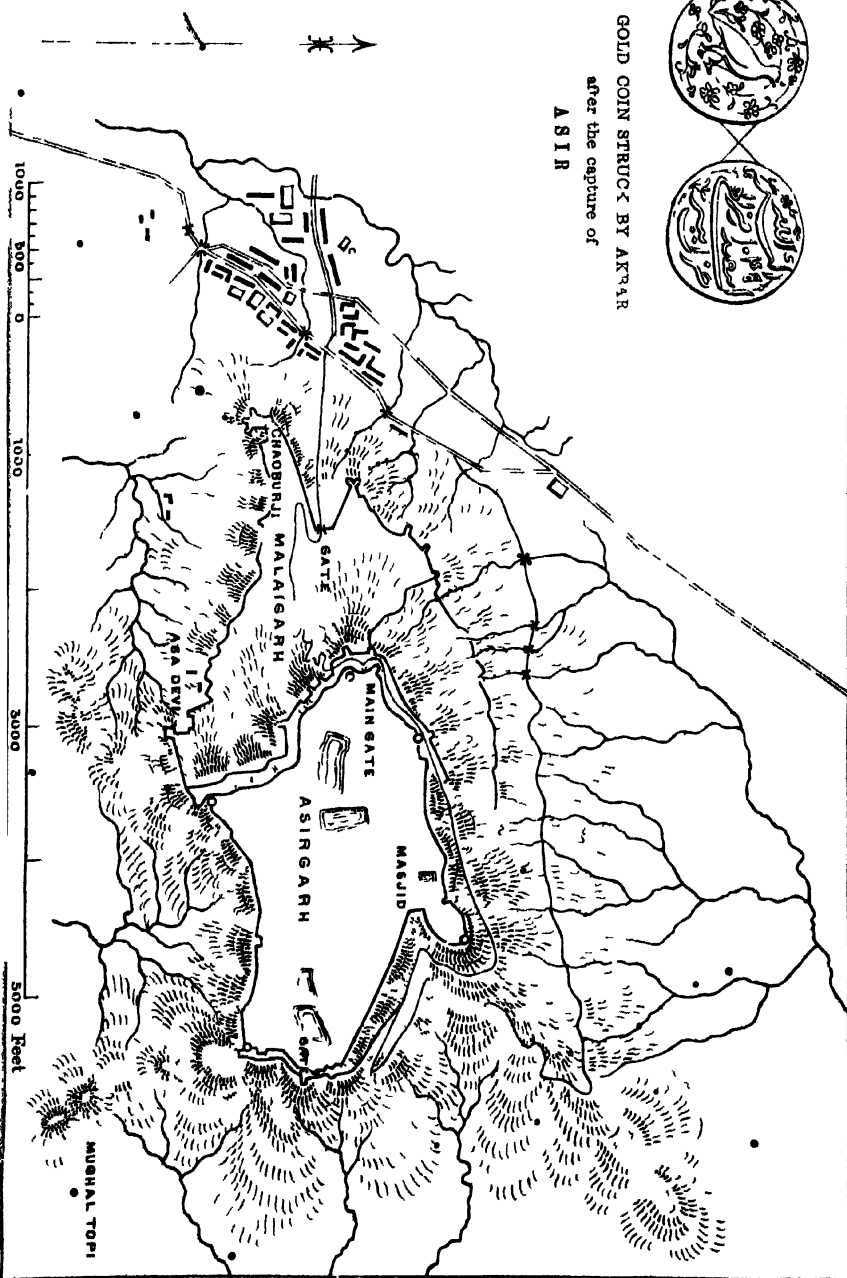
Lithographed at the Surveyor General's Office Calcutta January 1879

ASIRGARH

PLATE XLX



GOLD COIN STRUCK BY AKBAR
after the capture of
ASIR

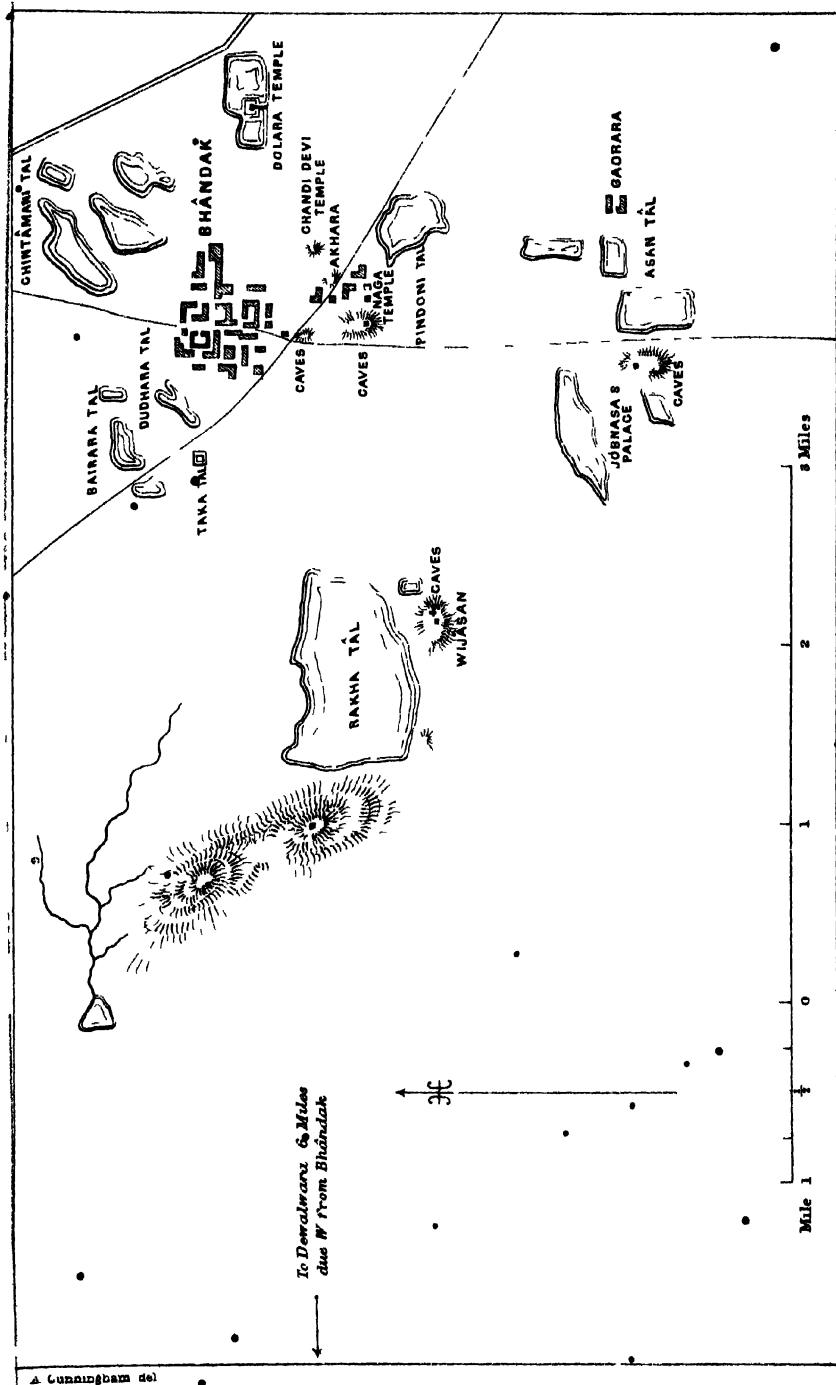


A Cunningham del

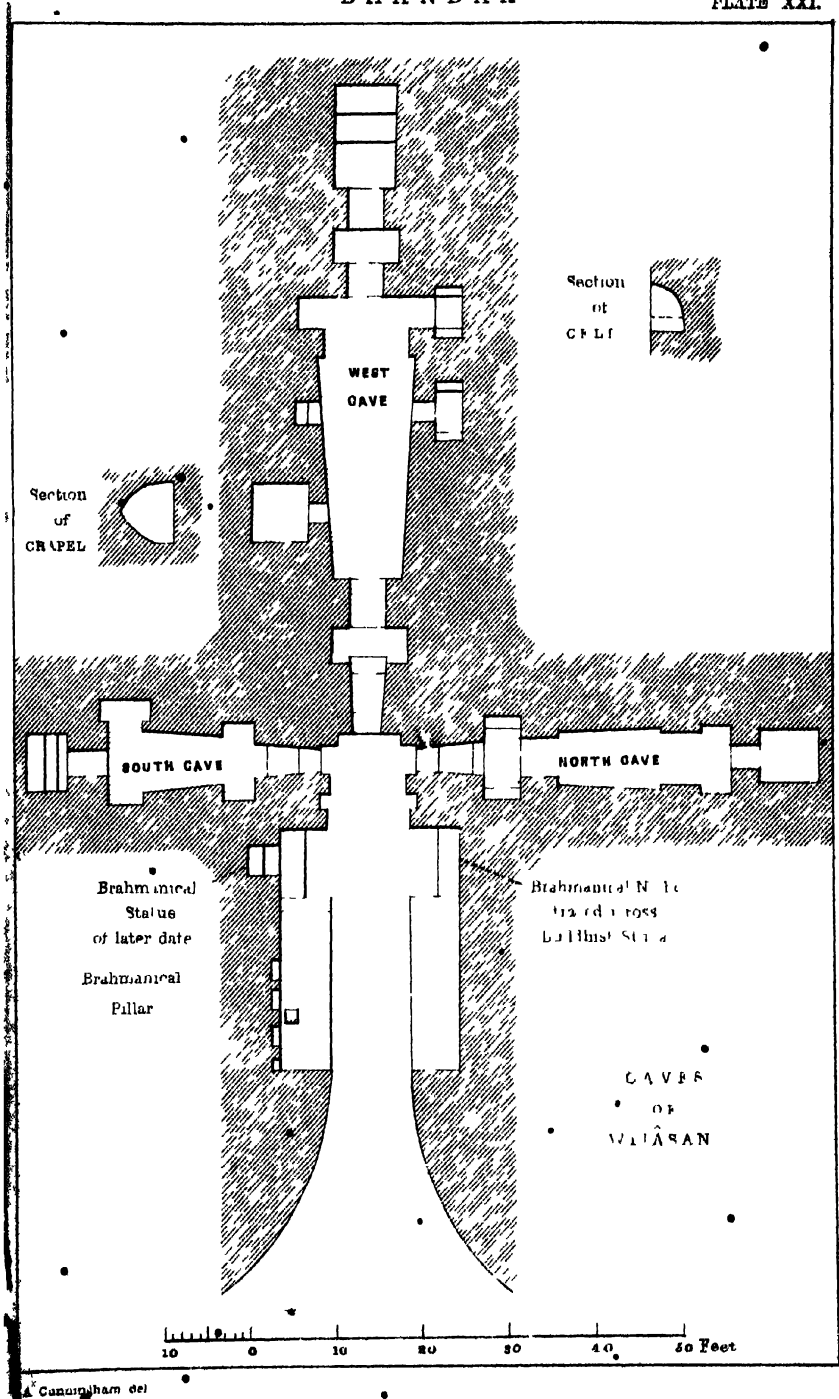
Lithographed at the Surveyor General's Office Calcutta January 1879

B H Â N D A K

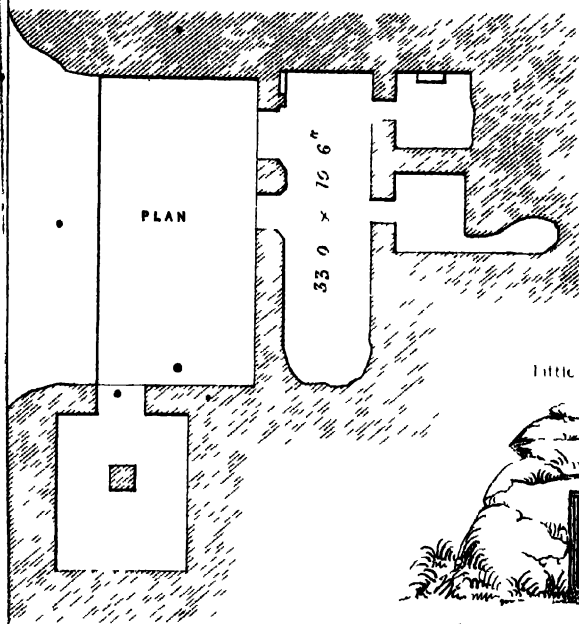
PLATE XX



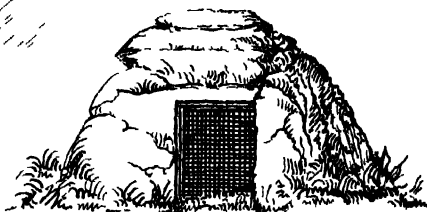
Lithographed at the Surveyor General Office Ottawa January 1879



BHANDAK CAVES

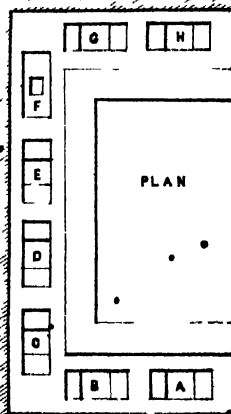
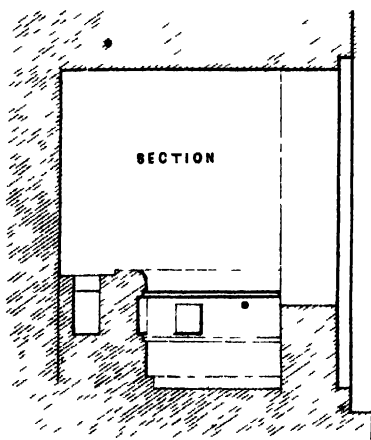


Little Low House



LOI PA CAVES

Big Low 1

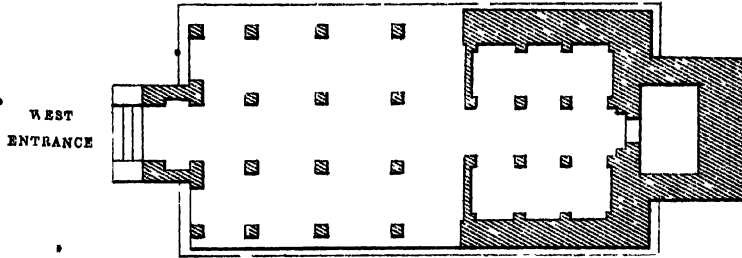


Inches 12 6 0 2 4 6 8 10 Feet

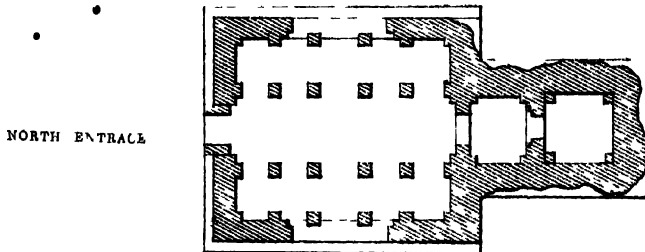
A. Cunningham d

Lithographed at the Surveyor-General's Office Calcutta January 1877

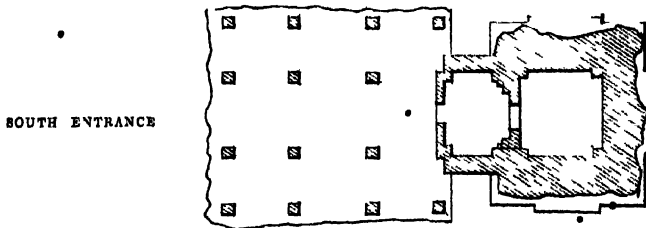
TEMPLE OF CHANDI DEVI



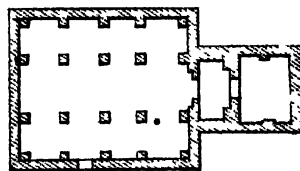
TEMPLE NEAR TAPĀ UTAO



TEMPLE AT GAORARA

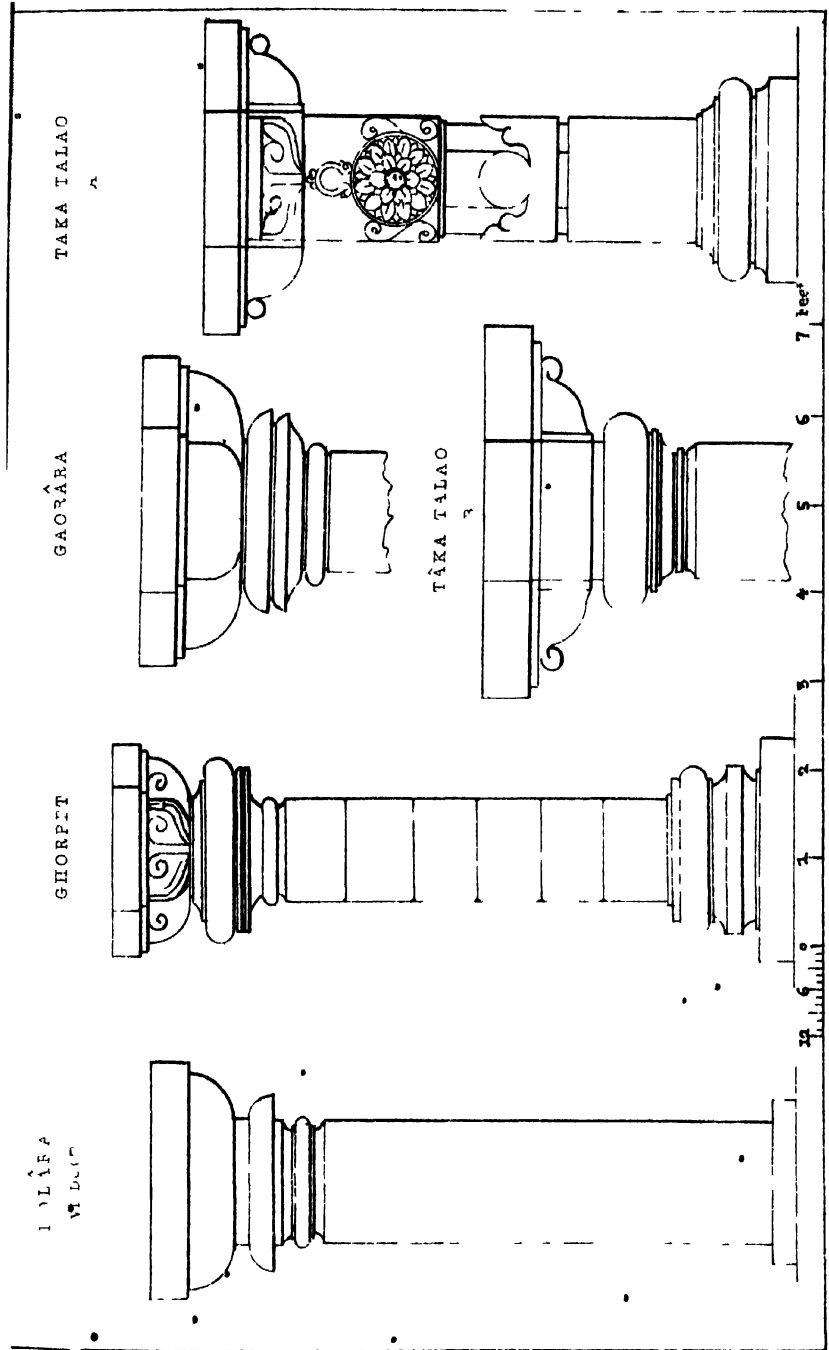


TEMPLE OF BADAĪNĀI



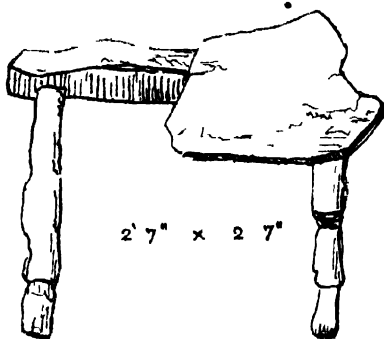
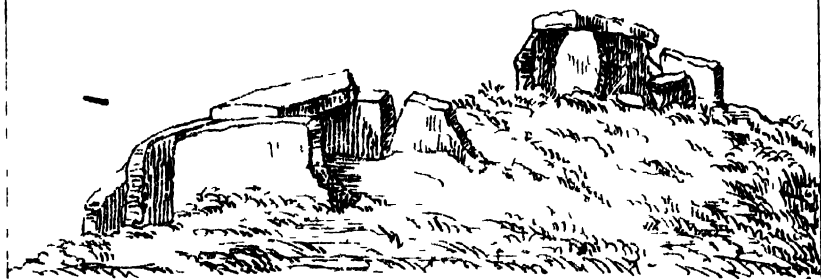
10 5 0 10 20 Feet

Cunningham del



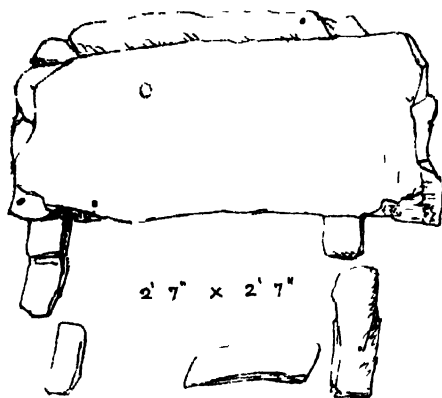
DOIRMENS

A



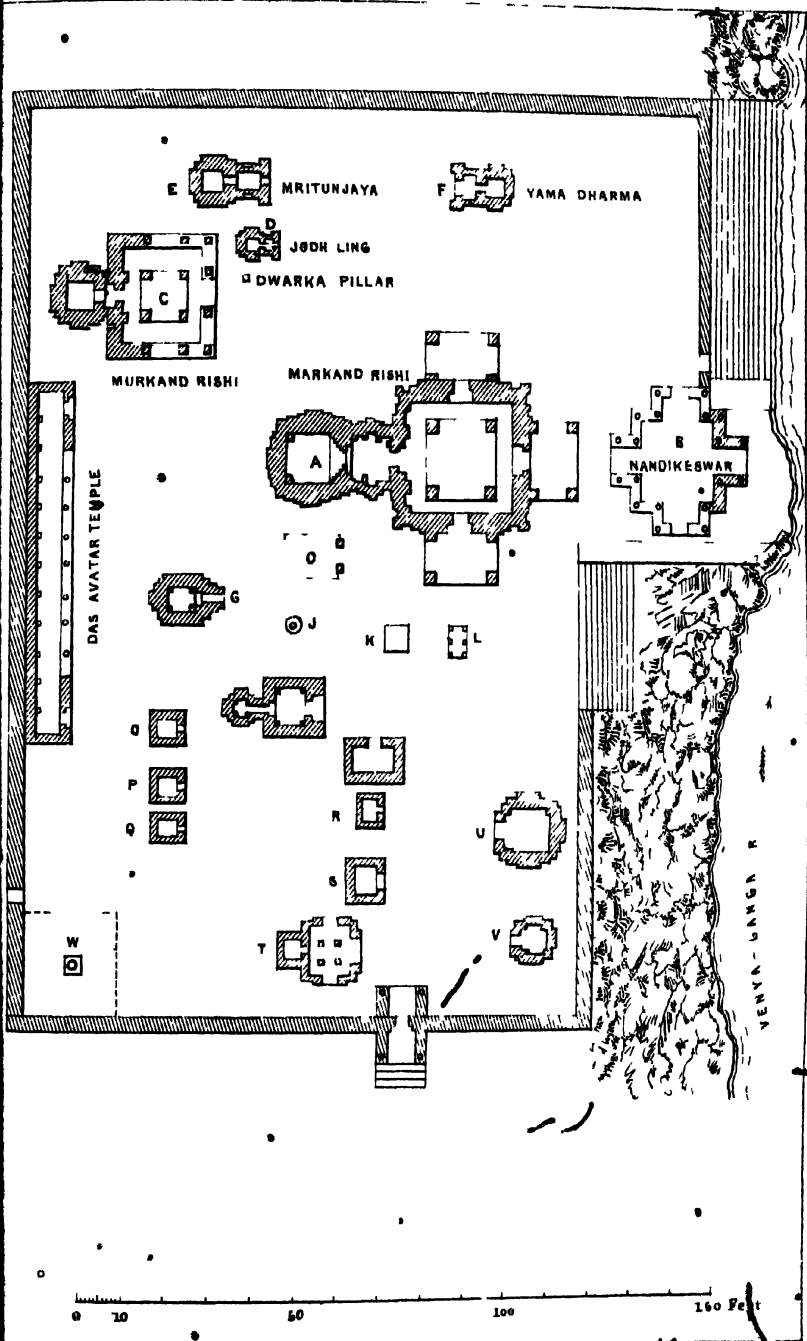
2' 7" x 2' 7"

PLAN OF A



2' 7" x 2' 7"

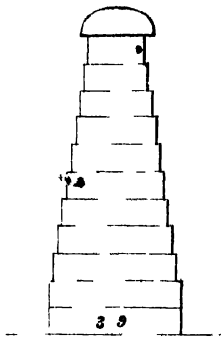
PLAN OF



Courtesy of the

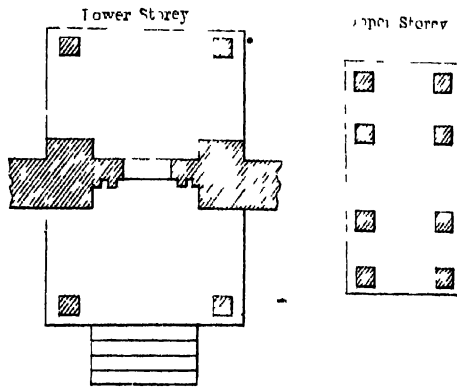
Lithographed at the Surveyor General's Office Calcutta January 1871

SECTION OF WALL



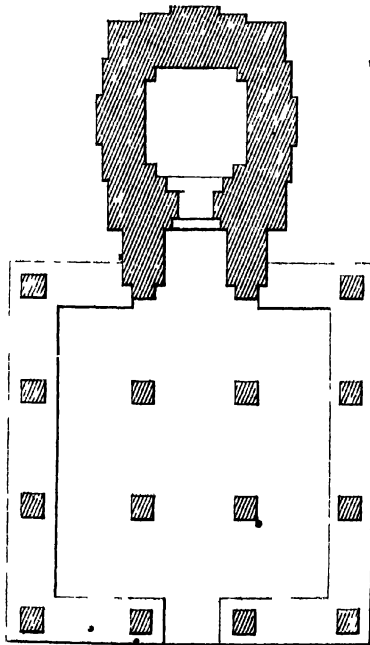
5 Feet

GATEWAY

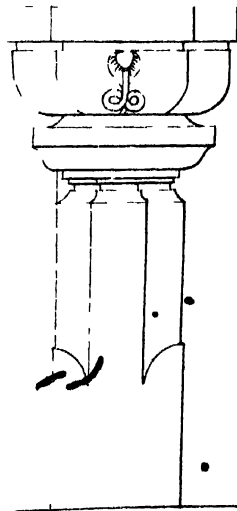


10 0 10 Feet

TEMPLE
AT
PASCARI



10 0 10 Feet

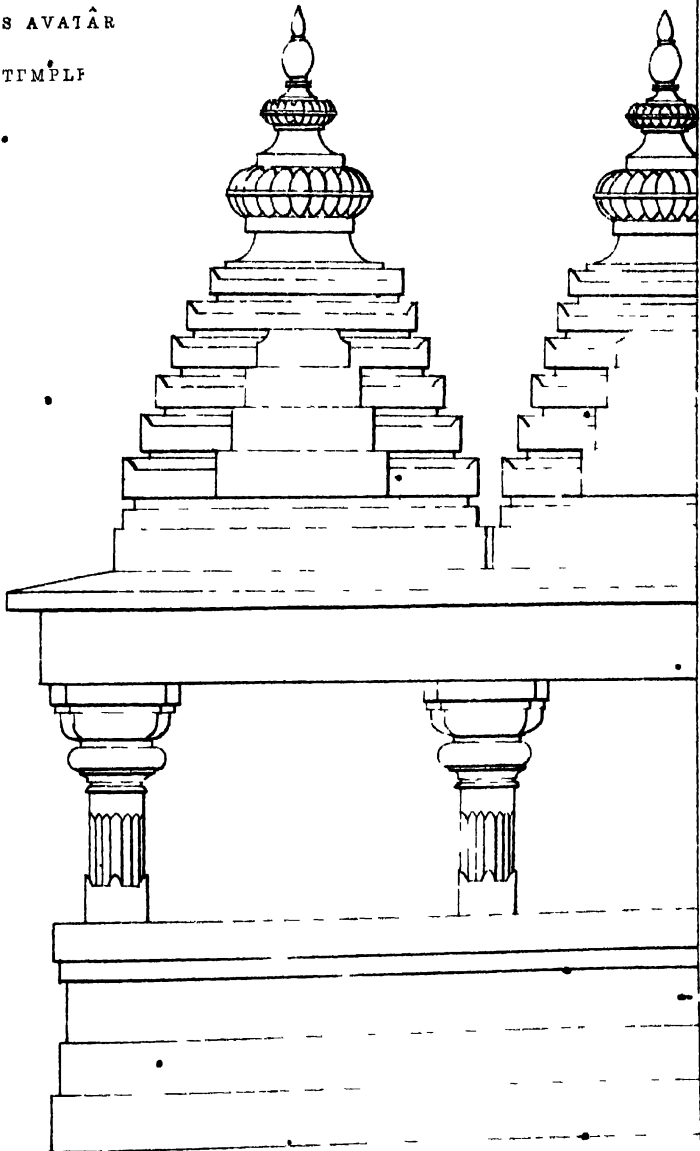


12 6 0 1 Foot

A Cunningham del

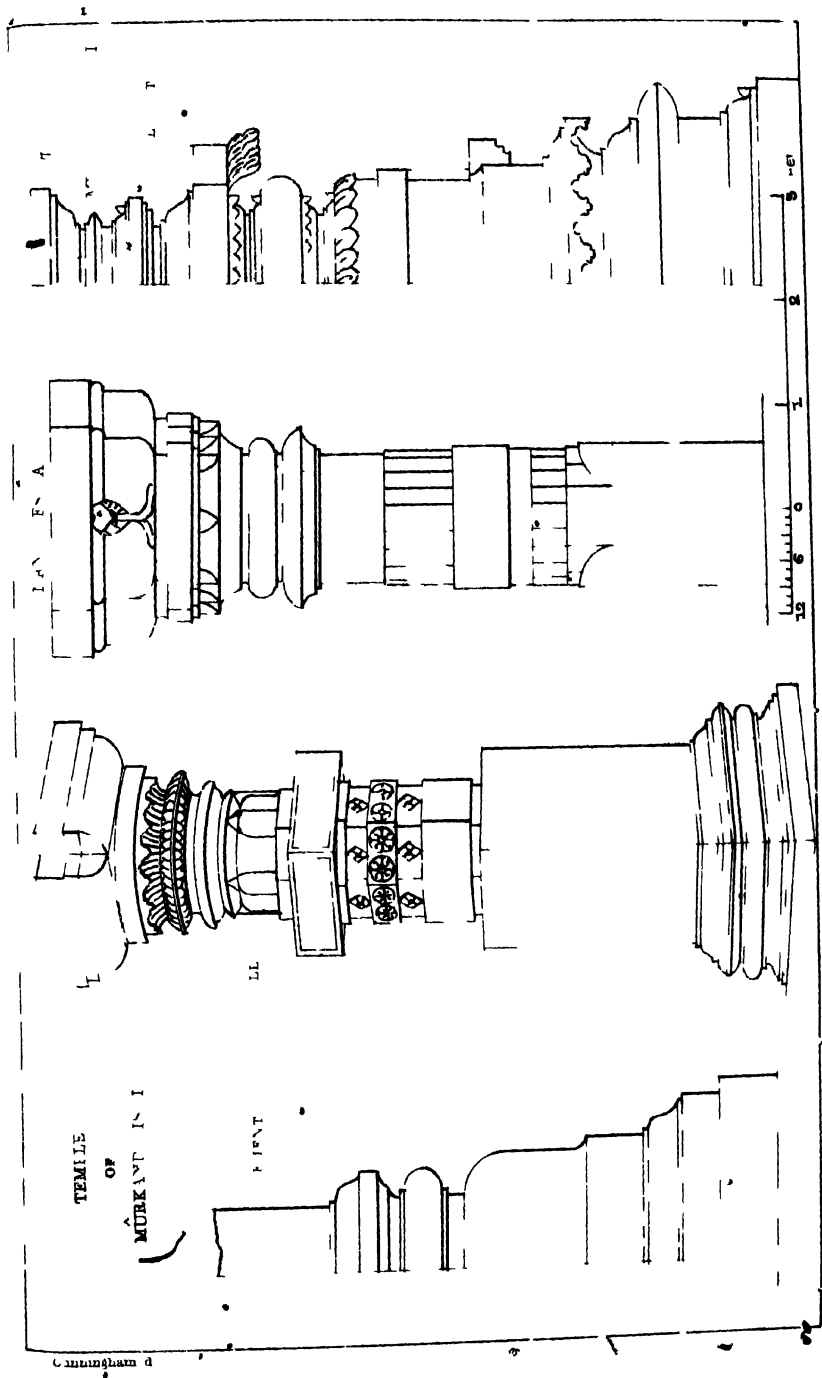
DAS AVATÂR

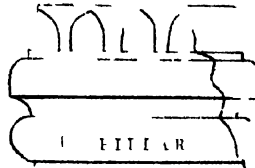
TEMPLE



Inches 10 8 6 4 2 0 Feet

MĀRKANDA





ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय
ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय
ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय
ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय
ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय
ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय
ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय
ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय

मगन धज
जो मी १००

सी मगन धज
जो मी १००

गद्याल्ल सगित

वासनासितपोधन

वसिनी गन ११४ गंगा १२

कसु ३१४ गंगा ६०

७७ २८ ६ गंगा १२४

७७ गन ८

१३१४

गंगा स पन १२६



आकाशेष प्रषोत्माचाः गिमस्ती वा वापन गो
उपागनाजे ते हा वास्व स्ता नु श्री माऊडे सना
• आऊन मजसीस मी त गु एनी धी

